

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear!"

African settlement setback

Mr. Smith, on the other hand, can argue that with no formal talks under way at present, he

don is the only viable alternative to increased bloodshed, whose outcome no one can chart with certainty.

From Washington's point of view, however, there is a clear danger of unleashing a flood of nuclear weapons in the world if nations are not stopped from acquiring the technology for making plutonium and highly enriched uranium, the essential ingredients of atomic bombs. More than a dozen countries now are deemed capable of building nuclear weapons. Among them are Israel, South Africa, South Korea, Taiwan, and Yugoslavia. Also, Brazil, India, Iran, and Spain. It takes little imagination to see the potential for tension and wars.

George Willig excited New Yorkers and indeed all of us who read of his extraordinary assault on a modern-day structure. The imagination, the wit, the skill, and the loquaciousness of it—all these seemed to attest a new man's individualism and his undaunted quest for something new to conquer. And for no reward other than personal achievement. "I just wanted the prize of getting to the top," said the climber.

Obviously city and trade center do not want this to serve as precedent for other "human fly" attempts. Precautions to discourage them are in order. But George Willig's feat — the triumph of man over technology — will always remain his own. And it probably will never cease to bemuse the millions of us who will gawk on taking the elevator to the top.

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A political cartoon by J.P. Kelley. A man in a suit and a hat labeled "Castro" is tearing at a large map of Africa. He is shouting "AFRICA" in large letters. To the left, a woman sits behind a desk labeled "CUBAN-AMERICAN DESK". A door behind her is labeled "PRIVATE".

The State Department in Washington is rightly expressing concern at the Cuban move, especially if Havana's troops are to follow its technicians, as some reports claim. The action symbolizes Ethiopia's swing away from the American orbit, as far as military support is concerned, and its rapid approach to the Soviet bloc as an alternative. It comes, moreover, at the moment when steps toward a rapprochement between the United States and Cuba were under way, at least as far as exchange of low-level officials is concerned, and thus raises questions about the desirability of continuing efforts to improve Cuban-American ties.

For the United States, the situation is one that bears careful watching, but the keynotes should be calm consideration of the numbers and measured responses, not hasty improvisation leading to another Angola-like confrontation. For the Marxists, Ethiopia, like Angola, may be easier to get into than get out of.

Whatever happened to "God is dead"? For some time the press was full of obituaries according to this new theology, or nontheology. If anything was dead, however, it was not God but the false concept of Him. The trend back toward an open acknowledgement of God and reliance on Him has been accented at the top of government in the United States.

The occasion was appropriate for the commencement exercises at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary in Hamilton, Massachusetts, where son Michael, Ford received a degree. Faced with the burden of the presidency at a time of turmoil, Mr. Ford "turned to the words of Proverbs, in the Bible Mike gave me," he found those sustaining words: "Trust in the Lord with all thine heart. In all thy ways acknowledge him: and he shall direct thy paths." Mrs. Ford's illness and the assassination attempt on his own life further deepened the faith, said Mr. Ford.

Whether headlined or not, such reliance on God contributes to a strengthening of the nation and the world.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

60¢ U.S.

By Joseph C. Marsch

The Ugandan tyrant threatened to come, even though unwanted and specifically disinvited by British Prime Minister James Callaghan. He wanted particularly to attend the bian

nual meeting of the heads of government of the members of the Commonwealth, that semimystical shadow of what once was the mighty British Empire. And not since the Empire was dissolved has the Commonwealth received such an interesting testimonial.

Thirty-five other representatives of the Commonwealth did come to London, did see the Queen, and did gather together to talk about the things which concern all of them. One of those things was what to do about the man who tyrannizes his own country, who disgraces the Commonwealth, and who damages the cause of black progress in all of Africa. The brutal despotism he has imposed on his own people makes a poor argument for handing any more countries still governed by white minorities over to black rule.

The London scene was the news story of the week — perhaps even of the year. It was also a paradox for political scientists to explain. Why did millions of people flock to London from all over the world to join in celebrating an anniversary of an institution which supposedly is statist and redundant?

Stumbling block to democracy

By Joe Gandelman
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

The military is said to be divided as to how to handle the new threat with one sector showing signs of losing patience. There is growing anger in the paramilitary Civil Guard over ETA's attacks on some of its posts and also over the recent killing of two of its members in Barcelona by the mysterious extremist group GRAPO.

That ETA's aim is to sabotage the country's nascent democracy seems clear by the timing of recent violence. The government has tried to defuse Basque frustrations by freeing all convicted Basque political prisoners (they have either turned home or are in self-agreed exile). The only remaining instigators of December have yet to be tried.

imprisoned Basques have yet to be tried. *Please turn to Page



On June 20, oil is scheduled to begin its 800-mile journey along the Alaskan pipeline

By Judith Frutig

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Prudhoe Bay, Alaska

Along the wind-swept arctic desert of Prudhoe Bay, Alaska, where the day is sometimes 24 hours long, the countdown toward a scheduled, June 20, southward surge of North Slope crude oil has begun. But some last-minute details — and questions — remain.

The plan is to begin a continuous 800-mile stream of heavy crude oil from the isolated North Slope to tankers in the ice-free southern shipping terminus in Valdez: 600,000 barrels a day at first, increasing to 1.3 million by October.

From Valdez the bulk of the oil is expected to be transported on U.S. tankers to refineries on the West Coast with the remainder shipped through the Panama Canal to eastern and southern (U.S.) states. Oil companies have not released precise figures.

Despite widespread speculation that oil would be sent to Japan in exchange for Saudi Arabia crude oil, this won't happen unless American law prohibiting such transactions is amended.

But as the deadline approaches, concern continues over the project. Talks with pipeline workers, Alyeska Pipeline Service Company officials — and an escorted tour along the route, including the Prudhoe Bay oil field, pump station six in the Yukon River area, and the Valdez terminal — haven't ended negotiations and continuing activities.

In the Chugach Mountains, 733 miles south of here, workmen are still burying pipeline in one steep and treacherous mountain pass. In pump stations and at the southern terminus of the Valdez harbor, engineers are checking instruments and completing "bur lists," says one pipeline spokesman — "meaning everything but."

Please turn to page 10

Germany's thank-you for Marshall Plan

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Twelve younger European parliamentarians — five West Germans, five British, and two Norwegians — visited Washington, D.C., last week to learn how Congress does its work. Ten U.S. congressmen will make return visits this fall.

This event is only one of many projects sponsored by the German Marshall Fund. On June 5, 1972, West Germany contributed \$50 million to establish the fund in appreciation of Marshall Plan assistance by the U.S. to rebuild West Europe after World War II. June 5 was the fifth anniversary of the establishment of the fund and the 30th anniversary of the speech by General Marshall in Harvard Yard that launched the massive recovery program for West Europe.

The proceeds of the German gift (which is being transferred in 15 annual installments) are administered by an American board of trustees. The general purpose is to increase communication between the United States and West Europe by bringing specialists on both sides of the Atlantic into touch with "Common problems of industrial societies." The fund has representatives in Bonn and Paris.

A significant contribution of the fund is that it helps specialists to broaden their knowledge by looking at their field of interest in other countries.

Since the fund began operations 3 1/2 years ago, it has spent more than \$7 million on nearly 100 projects. Activities have centered on urban affairs, employment, and conditions of work, land use, criminal justice, international economic and resource issues, and related communications and media activities.

Along with the U.S. and West Germany, France, Britain, Italy, Sweden, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, and Switzerland have been involved in projects. Japan and Canada also have participated. Only a few programs have been bilateral.

Among the many projects the fund has sponsored: a two-year study of alternative policies for child care for working mothers, a study of how trade union policies in some European countries affect women, a U.S.-West German seminar on criminal justice, a grant to Ralph Nader's Center for Responsive Law to study consumer cooperative programs and practices in Britain, France, West Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and Scandinavia.



London's statue of George V

Proud to be British

'It's a real morale booster, the monarchy'

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

"Vivat Regina Elizabetha!" Triumphant, the choir's voices rang out across the vast nave of St. Paul's, where Queen Elizabeth knelt in worship with her husband, the Duke of Edinburgh — he in uniform, she in a brilliant pink dress and matching hat.

Monarchy, in its origins, is an institution of religious significance, and it seemed therefore fitting that the climax of the Queen's long Silver Jubilee celebrations, which began with visits to Australia and the Pacific Islands, should come in a thanksgiving service in the cathedral church of the City of London.

"Foundations matter," said the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Donald Coggan, as the Queen listened intently. He likened the monarchy to a "building which has stood the test of time because its foundations are strong." It is no material building, but made up of "a spirit of devotion to duty and of service to others which has found its focus in a family and in an individual."

Dr. Coggan's voice rang out as he stood in the pulpit and asked his congregation, among whom sat kings, presidents, and prime ministers, for "penitence, dedication, and thanksgiving" for "the willingness to give and not to grab" in order to "create a society that will be unshakable."

Pledge recalled

Later, at a glittering lunch at Guildhall hosted by the Lord Mayor of London in his ermine-trimmed scarlet robes, Queen Elizabeth herself took up the theme of dedication. Recalling a public pledge she made at age 21 to devote her life to the service of the Commonwealth (then the Empire), she concluded, "Although the vow was made in my salad days, when I was green in judgment, I do not regret nor retract one word of it."

The Queen referred to the Commonwealth as "like an iceberg, except that it's not cold." The tip of the iceberg is represented by the occasional meetings of heads of government (one is opening here June 8), but the base is made up of "friendship and communication, largely in the English language, between peoples who were originally brought together by the events of history and who now understand that they share a common humanity."

'New Commonwealth' on hand

As if to lend point to her words, the second row of the congregation at St. Paul's, immediately behind members of the royal family, was filled with faces from the so-called "new Commonwealth": King Constantine of Lesotho, Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus, President Seretse Khama of Botswana, President Banda of

Malawi, and President Stevens of Sierra Leone. Prime Minister and Mrs. James Callaghan, representing the host country, were the only "old Commonwealth" figures in this row.

A winning telegram

Outside, under chilly, at times squally skies, the crowd that lined the two-mile route from Buckingham Palace to St. Paul's waited for hours to cheer their Queen as she passed by in her carriage. Some had camped overnight, braving wind and showers to make sure of a vantage point. Some had come from Scotland or even Australia.

Marian Eames, a young secretary who lives in Essex and works in the City of London, and a friend, Mrs. Shirley Stevens, won a competition sponsored by Woman's Own magazine for a telegram to the Queen. They were given prize balcony seats overlooking the entrance to St. Paul's (Their entry: "Congratulations, our jubilee Queen: You reign supreme.")

Not satisfied with seeing the Queen arriving at the cathedral, the two friends took up positions along Fleet Street after the service to catch her on her way back to Buckingham Palace.

Miss Eames was wearing a hat with a red, white, and blue motif, while Mrs. Stevens had on a brilliant Union Jack blouse, given her by an aunt who had worn it to the Queen's Coronation in 1953.

"We're very proud of her," said Miss Eames. "We're proud that we're British and have a royal family. The least we can do is come along and show her our appreciation."

"I think monarchy helps to stabilize the country," she went on. "It gives us something solid to look to, because governments come and go."

'Real morale-booster'

"You know, times have not been easy," chimed in her friend, Mrs. Stevens. "If we didn't have the monarchy, if we hadn't had the jubilee, we'd have had no one to bring us out of the dumps. It's a real morale booster, the monarchy."

Jubilee celebrations will continue through the week and on into July, with the Queen making a trip by royal launch up the Thames, reviewing the fleet at Spithead, and touring troubled Northern Ireland as well as England and Wales.

Elections: Gaullists demand do-or-die fight against French Left

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

"If Giscard would come out and say, 'I will resign the day the Communists and Socialists win the elections,' we Gaullists would be 100 percent for him," said a leading spokesman for France's Gaullist party.

He was referring, of course, to President Giscard d'Estaing, whose own term as President does not run out until May, 1981, but who must call parliamentary elections by next March.

Polls predict a close result but favor the left coalition led by Socialist Francois Mitterrand and Communist Georges Marchais.

The Gaullists' major complaint against President Giscard d'Estaing, according to this spokesman, is that he refuses to lead a do-or-die fight against the Socialist-Communist coalition. At the root of this attitude, the Gaullists maintain, lies the political calculation that even if the Socialists and Communists do win next year's elections, the President will subsequently be able to split the Socialists from the Communists and form a new governing coalition.

To the aggressive, dynamic Gaullist leader

Jacques Chirac, such an attitude smacks of amateurism and weakens the entire cause of the present governing majority — a majority that includes Centrist Democrats and Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's own Independent Republicans (recently rechristened the Republican Party), but whose dominant component has always been the Gaullist party.

Mr. Chirac helped bring the Gaullists over to Mr. Giscard d'Estaing in the presidential election campaign after President Georges Pompidou's death in 1974. He then became Prime Minister, but quarreled with the President over the division of powers between the presidency and the premiership and resigned last August. Subsequently he ran for mayor of Paris in opposition to the President's handpicked candidate and won. During this period he gradually consolidated his own position as the unquestioned leader of the Gaullists, elbowing out more senior but less vigorous members of the party establishment.

Under Mr. Chirac, the Gaullists are taking a crisis attitude toward next year's elections. It will be a straight fight between forces allied with Communism and all the others, they say, and Communists and form a new governing coalition.

the parliamentary game. A clear majority for the Socialist-Communist coalition would mean, in their eyes, a decisive swing toward a state-controlled economy and a realignment of France's international position as well.

Only a vigorous, concerted campaign by all the democratic parties not allied with the Communists could persuade voters of the dangers of such a change, the Gaullists hold. President Giscard d'Estaing's own attitude will be crucial. By not committing himself in advance to resigning if the Left wins, he weakens the non-Communist camp as a whole because he thereby raises suspicions within the camp about his own post-election intentions, the Gaullists say.

President Giscard d'Estaing does not agree with this view. An article in France Soir that is thought to reflect the President's thinking asks:

Why should the President give up his advanced the weapon the Constitution gives him: the right to name a prime minister; to dissolve the National Assembly (lower house of Parliament); and to intervene in a process of constitutional revision? The article says the President recognizes that if the Left wins and forms a government, it will seek to put him in a more

and more difficult position; but he sees no advantage in announcing in advance of the elections that he would resign. Anyway, the Left is not going to win, the article continues. The present Prime Minister, the technocrat professor Raymond Barre, is the leader of the majority, and this majority expects victory at the polls.

The Gaullists reply that if the Left wins the elections, President Giscard d'Estaing will in practice be left without power, whatever the Constitution may say, for the government will be run by the Socialist-Communist coalition with Mr. Mitterrand as prime minister. Any thought the President may have that he can then pry the Socialists loose from their Communist partners will be quite illusory. The left coalition will tolerate Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's continuing as chief of state only if he accepts the verdict of the voters and leaves the actual governing of the country to them, the Gaullists say.

That is why, they add, it is so important for Mr. Giscard d'Estaing to take his stand now. "He must make up his mind," said the Gaullist spokesman. "Will he be satisfied to be merely a ceremonial chief of state? Or will he be the leader of the democratic forces in France? He cannot be both."

Highlights

Monarchy in jubilee. Queen Elizabeth inside St. Paul's, and millions of Britons outside join in thanksgiving. Page 3

Soviet constitution. Our Moscow correspondent discusses the new constitution — what it promises and why the Soviets are getting one at all. Page 10

Israel's next prime minister. A profile of Menachem Begin — the kind of man he is and the experiences that shaped him. Page 8

Election in the Irish Republic. A Northerner considers what affect the results might have on Ulster security. Page 31

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FOCUS

Giggleswick fit for a queen

By Christopher Andreas

Giggleswick, Yorkshire
If I were to mention a place in England situated on the banks of the River Tams, a place with a queen living in it who has just celebrated a silver jubilee, you might think that in spite of my poor spelling, I meant London.

But you would be wrong — and my spelling would be right. The place in question would be the North Yorkshire village of Giggleswick, population approximately 1,500.

This small community was as actively celebrating Elizabeth II's 25 years on the throne as any other in the country. A jubilee queen of Giggleswick was chosen. Her name is Carolyn Smith. She was given £5 (\$8.50) toward the cost of her dress (her attendants got \$5.10).

On Tuesday, after a blessing and a hymn, she was crowned near the ancient stone cross which stands by the church and the Black Horse pub and the hairdresser's. Then she went in procession, headed by the Settle and Giggleswick Brass Band.

Giggleswick, of ancient Scandinavian foundation, and with a long-recorded history, is one of those English villages which can justifiably be described as "nestling." Its center has steep hills rising like branches out of it in three directions. Its "River Tams" — really not much more than a beck or wide stream — rolls into the larger River Ribbles, which is all that separates the small spread of its houses from

the neighboring market town of Settle.

For weeks the village post office window has been crammed with jubilee saucers and jubilee mugs and even jubilee tissues, not to mention a notice of the jubilee committee meeting to fix the final details of The Day. Other shops sported notices of the jubilee fancy-dress competition, and a contest for the best decorated house.

The village church, dedicated to St. Akeld, a Christian princess supposed to have been killed by the Danes because of her religious beliefs, held a special jubilee service June 5.

The village branch of the women's institute presented a crafts exhibition in the parish room throughout Jubilee Day.

The village has its own primary school. The children made decorations for the stone cross and for an arch erected across the street from the lych-gate to the cottages opposite: shields and banners and flags and evergreens. Strings of flags crisscrossed the street.

At 4 p.m. the senior citizens of the village were served free tea (professionally catered) in the school. "We've collected £700.50 (\$1,050.75) in a year," Mrs. Lawson, secretary of the jubilee committee, told me, "It's all completely free for children, well, from birth to 16, and for over-80s. A day to remember." The children's tea was served in the street. Then everyone proceeded to the "feelings" (otherwise known as the Harrison Playing Fields) where the

children did country dancing. And in these fields were all the other free side-shows, games, sports, and performances.

A race started and ended here — and a cycle race, and a pillow fight on a pole, and a tug-of-war, and a wellie-throwing competition as well. The "young wives" were running a food raffle with hot dogs and crisps and lemonade. A "Shady" Stall was run by Peter and John Finch (a celebrity who lives in the village, a writer of television serials). Charlie Lawson was in charge of the putting. And there were darts and hoopla.

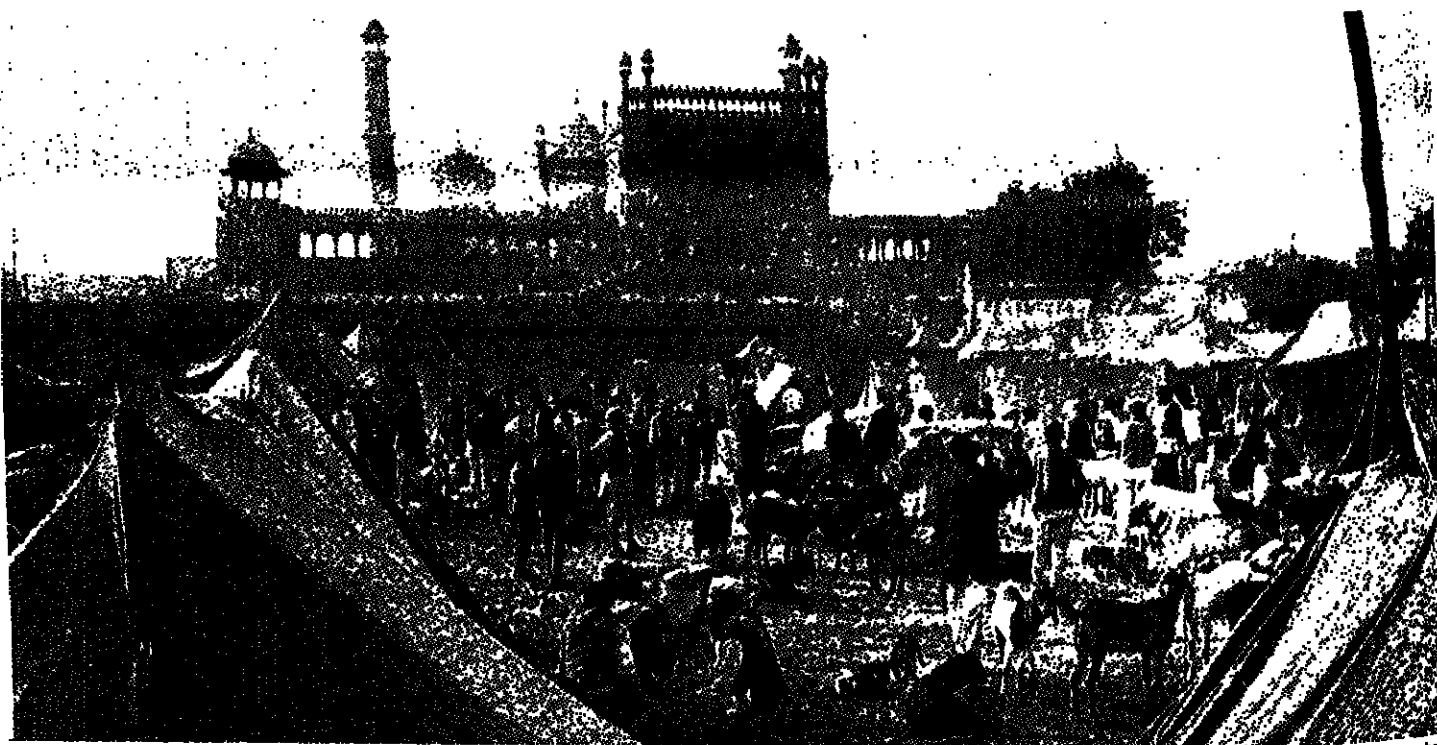
Special souvenir programs of the day were printed.

The village stocks had been reassembled and someone was "arrested" and put in them, then pardoned and released by the Queen as her first duty.

Giggleswick's resident amateur filmmaker, a prosperous plumber called Eddy Percy (people of the name of Percy appear in the history of Giggleswick at least as far back as the 13th century) filmed the day. His film of the village's coronation day festivities still plays to packed houses — of local people who like to chortle over the appearance of themselves and their friends 25 years back.

So there it was: the tiny community of Giggleswick vigorously waving its flags on June 7. English village life is alive and well in Giggleswick (I thought to be the origin of its flippancy misunderstood name: Giggles being an ancient man and not an uncontrollable form of mirth).

The final additions to the day, or rather the evening, were a performance of a mystery play about Noah's Ark by the local drama group, and a torch-light procession followed by dancing until midnight.



Old Delhi

Cities are becoming choked as Indians swarm there in search of jobs

Top priority: keep the Indians out of town

By K. R. Sundar Rajan
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Bombay
More and more Indians are moving into cities every year in search of jobs. The situation is so serious that last year the government of Maharashtra state toyed with the idea of imposing a permit system for entry into Bombay, the state capital and a big magnet for the unemployed.

Fortunately, the permit plan was dropped. Difficult to enforce, it would have led to acerbic bitterness among Bombay's different linguistic groups. Critics of the plan said it was mainly intended to keep out those whose mother tongue is not Marathi, the chief local language.

The new federal government of Prime Minister Morarji Desai is giving top priority to the question of reducing urban congestion. Among other things, no new industries may be permitted in and around big cities. Industrialists will be asked to locate new plants in interior areas, and increasing importance will be given to small-scale rural industries. These, it is

hoped, will persuade more and more people to stay in and around their own ancestral villages.

Unlike the Westerner, the average Indian's love for his village is deep-rooted. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that under no circumstances will he tear himself away from his ancestral hamlet except for a short period and for the specific purpose of earning his livelihood.

Take Badri Das, a taxi driver of Bombay. He comes from Tehri Garhwal, a remote area in the Himalayan mountain region. Das came to Bombay 35 years ago but his family continues to live in his hamlet. He goes there once in two years for short stays. His wife has never visited Bombay. Recently two of his six sons joined him in Bombay in the taxi business.

"Even if I live for a hundred years in Bombay, it will not become my real home," Das says. Most outsiders in the city are like him. They work here but dream of the day when they will go back to their own native village where not only they but their ancestors were born. Some can trace family links to their villages back 500 years and more.

But this love for villages is neither helping rural growth nor aiding urban prosperity. While the villages languish for want of trained man power, the cities are getting bloated because of the sheer force of numbers.

A former mayor of Bombay lamented recently that since more than 60 percent of the city's 6 million people come from villages and are just impossible to create widespread public interest in the problems of urban renewal.

But economic and social planners think it should be possible to exploit the average Indian's love for his village to start a "back to the village" movement. According to one expert, if such a movement is not started, Bombay, Calcutta and other Indian cities will explode in misery and discontent within the next 15 years.

A grim prospect indeed. But the cheering news is that some Indians are already leaving the cities. Sankaran Nair, a Bombay hotel worker, has just gone back to his native hamlet in distant Kerala with his family. He will start a tea shop. Each month 20 families are leaving Bombay for good.

Europe

Spanish elections:

A time for songs, slogans, posters — and yawns

By Joe Gandelman
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Madrid
Last there be any doubt that Spanish politicians are not taking the first democratic elections in 40 years here lightly:

• The Falangist theme song, "Face to the Sun," plays early alongside the Socialist hymn, "The Internationale."

• Public-relations firms here in Madrid do a booming business marketing political leaders and inventing catchy slogans for their client parties. Huge department stores sell records of political speeches and songs (the Communist Party record comes in three regional editions, with flamenco music on the one designed for southern Spain).

• A team of students from 12 universities pastes up propaganda posters for a price: 10 pesetas (about 15 cents) per poster in the city, 15 per poster in the more remote and politically important provinces. (But when political propaganda papered over many Madrid traffic lights, the Public Works Ministry took offense.)

• In just one day, the moderate Democratic Center Party's Joaquín Garrigues Walker spoke in Badajoz, Socialist (PSOE) leader Felipe González in Segovia and Almería, rightist Popular Alliance leader Manuel Fraga Iribarne in San Sebastián, and Communist Santiago Carrillo at a Madrid cafeteria.

• In Asturias, the octogenarian Communist Party president, Dolores ("La Pasionaria") Ibarruri, who has just returned from 40 years' exile in Moscow, was received warmly by miners. She said: "When I come to Asturias to see

you, comrades and friends, I think no sacrifice has been sufficient to repay your heroism and your capacity for sacrifice."

But the real contest is between two new generation leaders, Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez and Mr. González of the PSOE. Mr. Suárez enjoys a youthful image of quiet strength — a political centrist rooted in the right, Mr. González enjoys a youthful image of compassion and reconciliation — a relative moderate rooted in the left. Polls suggest they are the most popular leaders in the country.

All this political imagery traces to a seminar on political marketing last March in Madrid. It was attended by psychiatrists, party militants, and public-relations firms. Since then Mr. Suárez's Democratic Center assigned 30 specialists to the capital to try to link slogans like "the center is democracy" with sincere-looking photos of the Premier. PSOE retaliates with "socialism is liberty" and even more sincere-looking photos of Mr. González.

In addition, the various parties have hired sound trucks and airplanes and rented stadiums to try to spread their messages. There are right-wing bumper stickers, Socialist pens, Christian Democrat matchbooks, and even "democratic oranges" issued by the Communists. There also has been a large measure of mudslinging.

Yet despite all the hubbub most Spaniards seem confused and bored by it all. The chief mood is uncertainty.

"It's the first time in 40 years we are using this system," says a civil guard who has not decided how to vote.

In Seville, a buggy driver expressed a wide-



Bill posting in Madrid — but not over the traffic lights

spread feeling: "I do not know anything about democracy but know the Francoists had their chance and were corrupt and the Communists cannot be trusted."

Indeed, analysts think the Spaniards ultimately will vote personalities, not parties. Diplomats say such bored detachment may lower passions. And that, they contend, is not bad for the long-range goal of consolidating a stable democracy.

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Indeed, analysts think the Spaniards ultimately will vote personalities, not parties. Diplomats say such bored detachment may lower passions. And that, they contend, is not bad for the long-range goal of consolidating a stable democracy.

Belgian Cabinet: Prime Minister's plan may solve language dispute

By Geoffrey Goodsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

If the new Belgian coalition Cabinet put together by Prime Minister Leo Tindemans can survive the latest threat, it could lead to a final resolution of the language dispute which has wracked that country with increasing intensity since the end of World War II.

(The threat came from the French-language faction of Mr. Tindemans' own Social Christian Party which complained that it did not have enough representatives in the new government team.)

Over the past two decades and more, Dutch-speaking Belgians (inhabiting the northern half of the country) have sought to redress the disadvantages which they feel they have suffered vis-à-vis French-speaking Belgians ever since the establishment of an independent Belgium

in 1830. They now outnumber French-speakers. They have wanted Dutch recognized as the only language of their part of the country and a say in running all-Belgium commensurate with their share of the population.

Back in the 1960s, a language boundary was drawn across the country. Dutch was to be the language north of it, French the language south of it. This was generally accepted — but there was one snag, the situation of Brussels, the national capital.

French culture having dominated Belgium for so long after independence, Brussels was mainly a French-speaking city. But it was north of the language boundary, a French-speaking island in a Dutch-speaking sea. The French-speakers insisted on keeping French a recognized and official language in Brussels — a city, like many other modern capitals, gradually expanding its suburban spread. The Dutch-

speakers had no objection to having French a language in Brussels but fought tooth and nail to prevent the language boundaries of the city from spreading out into Dutch-speaking territory like a widening oil slick.

The hard-liners on each side had made Brussels the main issue. On the Dutch-speaking side was the Volksunie, on the French-speaking side the Democratic Front of French-speakers (FDF). In the general election, both lost seats on either side of the language boundary — suggesting that the boundary had gone a long way to calm passions. But in Brussels, the FDF did increase its parliamentary opposition.

Mr. Tindemans now has put together a coalition which includes both the Volksunie and the FDF (alongside his own Social Christian Party and the Socialists). The fact that these two hard-line splinter parties have come together under his premiership indicates that the compromise which Mr. Tindemans has devised for Brussels is at least acquiesced in by both language groups.

(Indeed, the coalition as a whole is very much a coalition of the two language blocs. The Social Christians, the biggest party in Parliament, have their stronghold in Dutch-speaking Belgium. The base of the Socialists, second biggest party in Parliament, is French-speaking Belgium.)



By Joan Forbes, staff cartographer

Belgium's three regions

(The four-party coalition controls 172 of the 212 seats in Parliament. The Liberals, third biggest party in the chamber, are the main opposition party. On the opposition benches also will be the Communists and the French-speaking Rassemblement Wallon, which served in Mr. Tindemans' pre-election coalition government.)

The Prime Minister's overall formula for final resolution of the language dispute involves recognition of three separate regions in Belgium: Dutch-speaking, French-speaking, and Brussels.

Mr. Tindemans has dealt with the Dutch-speakers' objection to Brussels spreading outward like a patch of oil into Dutch-speaking territory by agreeing on paper to a straitjacket around the capital preventing its linguistic expansion. French-speakers moving out into the capital's suburbs will nevertheless have their rights preserved by being given fictional "addresses inside the straitjacket."

Critics of the compromise already are saying that Mr. Tindemans is burdening his country with too many institutions. There will be in one small country: four executive central government, and the government of the Dutch-speaking, French-speaking and Brussels regions; and seven legislatures or assemblies (the two chambers of the national Parliament, the regional assemblies of the Dutch-speakers, the French-speakers and of Brussels and the two assemblies of the Dutch-speakers and French-speakers as linguistic communities).

Yet the compromise is something essentially Belgian in that Belgians as a whole, often after political trauma and upheaval, have usually found formulas to resolve divisive issues and so preserve national unity. They did it over the painful question of the monarchy and the future of ex-King Leopold III after World War II. They did it some years later over the sensitive question of education. Presumably Mr. Tindemans is hopeful that now he has found a way to keep the country together on language — and that his government will be able to devote its entire energies to Belgium's pressing economic problems.

Armed service: choice for young Germans

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Over the strenuous objections of opposition members, the West German Parliament has voted to give young men of draft age a free choice between military service and alternative social work.

Young German men liable to their country's draft must still take the prescribed tests to determine fitness for service. But if they choose an alternative form of social service, they no longer have to claim to be a conscientious objector or to be subjected to an examination to determine the validity of their motives. The new law provides that this rule shall apply as long as the military preparedness of the Federal Republic is not endangered.

The parliamentary action means that a young man shortly has to write his draft board and request 18 months of civilian service. Compulsory military service ranges from 18 to 18

months, depending on which arm of the military a draftee enters.

Opposition to the law centered on arguments that it was not good for the collective conscience of youth and that it endangered defense readiness. Presently about one in six of drafted men have claimed conscientious objection status.

A number of practical concerns were behind passage of the law. West Germany has nearly 600,000 men under arms and does not plan to expand the services. There is a bulge in the population of military service age from the high birth-rate years. And the government says there now is a desirable balance in the services between volunteers and draftees. Unemployment among youth has contributed to this.

Polls show that German youth largely view military service as a duty to the West in general as well as to their country. A large percentage of youth are at least lukewarm toward the military, however. This has been true of the population as a whole since World War II.

Latins ask Mrs. Carter, 'Where's Jimmy?'

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Caracas, Venezuela

Rosalynn Carter is getting a good deal of favorable comment on her two-week Latin American diplomatic mission. But with the trip half over, at this writing, there is lingering Latin American resentment that President Carter himself did not make the trip.

Moreover, hemisphere leaders in the countries she is visiting are acutely aware Mrs. Carter has no mandate to negotiate with them, despite the fact she was dispatched by her husband. She is neither an elected nor an appointed official.

"She's really just a nice lady who came for a visit," says a leading diplomat here. "If we were not so used to insults from the United States, we would make more of the insult and gall of a United States president sending his wife to talk to us."

This sort of reaction is scoffed at by the official party, including Mrs. Carter herself. Some members of the large official entourage accompanying the First Lady say such comments are merely a manifestation of Latin American "machismo" — a reference to the area's male-oriented society.

But this misses the point, say a number of high-ranking Latin Americans here and elsewhere in the hemisphere. "One doesn't carry on diplomacy by family."

Actually, Mrs. Carter is facing the most difficult parts of her trip as she goes to Brazil, Colombia, and Venezuela this week. In all three there is serious questioning of her husband's attitude on a number of issues.

In Brazil, Mr. Carter's stands on human rights and on Brazil's acquisition of nuclear power have angered that nation's military government. There is deep resentment the White House would, as one official in Brasília phrased it, "meddle in what are our internal affairs."

Mrs. Carter will have her hands full trying to explain her husband's position on these issues. Aware of the task facing her, Washington has gone out of its way in recent days to smooth her talks with the Brazilians by assuring them of continuing U.S. friendship.

"Why doesn't Mr. Carter come himself to tell us this, rather than sending an emissary?" asked a Rio de Janeiro newspaper. A radio commentator said President Carter was "hiding behind his wife's skirts" by sending her to Brazil.

Such carping is unlikely to come up during the official visit, but the Brazilian military is clearly less than pleased with her visit.

In Colombia, the reaction is even more severe. Colombians have questioned holding a state dinner or any reception for her for "what is she, but a nice lady who is coming for a visit," as

one Colombian official expressed it. "She's not elected nor is she officially appointed. She's merely the wife of the President of the United States."

And in Venezuela, where the U.S. continues to be under heavy attack for its restrictions on trade and other issues, the reaction is one of: Let her come and have a good time, but let's not get into substantive issues.

The White House and Mrs. Carter have made much of her mission to deal with "substantive" matters in her talks with Latin American leaders. It is clearly this aspect of her trip that galls many Latin Americans who when meeting her will be gracious and charming as Latins can be, but who question the whole nature of her trip.

From Washington, there also is indication many State Department officials are annoyed over the visit. "Embarrassing" is the word that frequently crops up in comment about her visit from these individuals. The same could be said for those in U.S. embassies in Latin America.

This criticism and reaction notwithstanding, Mrs. Carter's first week out went fairly smoothly. Her stops in Jamaica, Costa Rica, Ecuador, and Peru were pleasant. She said she was pleased with both the reception of her hosts and the way in which she was able to carry on her mission of talking with Latin American leaders on issues of importance to her husband.

Rising tide of illegal immigrants

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Caracas, Venezuela

María is a maid in a local hotel; Héctor is a laborer at a construction site here; and Felipe is an operator on an oil derrick on Lake Maracaibo, 350 miles west of Caracas.

All three are part of a tide of 600,000 illegal immigrants from neighboring Colombia attracted here in the past 25 years by the promise of better-paying jobs than they can get at home.

María, Héctor, and Felipe (their real names have been withheld to protect them) have been in Venezuela for 10 years or more. They have merged with the local community in many ways, but they still regard themselves as Colombians and send money to those members of their families still in Colombia. Most of the immigrants speak Spanish in a way that sets them apart from their Spanish-speaking colleagues in Venezuela.

Actually, María, Héctor, and Felipe are earning exactly what their native-born Venezuelan counterparts are earning. But two of them have not told their employers that they are not native-born.

For María, the maid's job in a Caracas hotel helps her support a son back in Colombia who is studying engineering in university. She is also supporting a teen-age daughter here who wants to be a journalist.

In Héctor's case, the construction job at a new high-rise complex is the latest in a series over the years that helps him eke out support for a wife and six teen-age children back in Colombia and a common-law wife and three more children here in Venezuela. His common-law wife is Venezuelan and is expecting a fourth child soon.

For Felipe, life in Venezuela has allowed him to get an education as an engineer. Today he works for Petroleos de Venezuela, the nationalized oil firm. He and his wife, Marta, also Colombian, have two children, both born here and both attending university.

Illegal movements of people across often ill-defined borders are nothing new in Latin America. In this century, perhaps a million Paraguayans and Bolivians have crossed over into Argentina. Today many of them live in ugly squatter settlements on the edges of Buenos Aires.

Brazilians in large numbers are migrating into Paraguay and Bolivia, and Dominicans are crossing the Mona Passage into the neighboring island of Puerto Rico. The exact numbers are not known, but in each case they are reported to be "extensive."

Back in the 1930s and '40s, some 45,000 Jamaicans went to Cuba in a large-scale migration that provided workmen and maids for Cuban homes; many are still there, living rather precarious existences in contemporary Cuba.

And a large-scale tide of Salvadoreans into Honduras in the 1960s and before helped spark the 1983 war between those two Central American countries.

Nothing like a war is likely between Venezuela and Colombia over the Colombian migration into Venezuela, but the yearly flow of some 60,000 illegal immigrants is worrying the two governments. They frequently discuss it diplomatically, but there is no ready answer.

Meanwhile, Venezuelans worry that they will be embarrassed anew by illegal immigrants as they were three years ago when the winner of the annual Miss Venezuela beauty contest turned out to be a native of Cúcuta, Colombia, who had moved to Caracas with her parents when she was three.

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United States

Will new gambling casinos bring in the godfathers?

By George Moneyhun
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Legalized casino gambling is about to make its debut on the heavily populated U.S. East Coast, with law-enforcement officials warning that known organized crime figures already are moving in, and church groups charging they have been betrayed.

As early as next fall, the first roulette wheels could begin spinning in gambling halls along Atlantic City's Boardwalk, which, city officials say, will revive decaying resort business. Already the impact of "Las Vegas East" on New Jersey is being watched closely by officials in surrounding states whose decisions to construct competing betting operations largely will be influenced by what happens in New Jersey.

"We've confirmed the movements of known organized crime figures into the area," New Jersey Assistant Attorney General Robert Martinez told the Monitor. "I can't say any more than that," he added.

During ceremonies in which he signed legislation permitting the first legalized gambling halls in the U.S. outside Nevada, New Jersey Gov. Brendan T. Byrne warned organized crime to "keep your filthy hands out of Atlantic City."

Mr. Martinez, who chaired the task force that drew up the state's casino controls, says: "All the essential controls have been put into place. We think we have the tools to keep them [organized crime] out of the casinos — but not out of the pizzeria down the street. We have no control over that."

Although stressing that the new Casino Control Act requires the operators of ancillary services, such as laundries and vending machines, to be licensed along with operators and employees of casinos, Mr. Martinez says of possible prostitution, loan sharking, and other illegal activities: "Let's not kid ourselves about what New Jersey has bought. Nevada has a higher rate of predatory crime than anywhere else."

Dr. Samuel A. Jeannes, a Baptist clergyman and leader of a statewide coalition of church

and civic groups opposed to casinos, calls Governor Byrne's warning to mobsters "a joke — they're already here." The coalition — which described itself as representing "the 1,800,000 citizens who voted against casino gambling" — had unsuccessfully urged the Governor not to sign the casino Control Act. They argue that it had been "watered down," leaving too many loopholes for organized crime infiltration.

Editorials in several Roman Catholic periodicals in New Jersey complained that churchmen had been betrayed by pro-gambling forces who had convinced them not to oppose casinos in the November referendum on the grounds that the gambling halls would be subdued, continental-style casinos, rather than the garish, night-and-day operations of Las Vegas.

Many observers point out, however, a common pattern in states with legalized gambling — namely that once voters approve a limited gambling proposal, promised pre-election limitations quickly vanish.

In New Jersey, voters had been told casinos would not serve alcoholic drinks, would not have slot machines, would be open only a few hours a day, and would not extend credit. Un-

der heavy lobbying from gambling promoters, however, the state Legislature dropped all of these restrictions.

Casinos now are scheduled to operate 18 and 20 hours a day; they will serve alcoholic drinks to gamblers; they will include slot machines, extend credit, and even feature topless dancing. The credit provision, in particular, worries some law-enforcement officials who see it as a possible inducement to loan sharking.

A study conducted by Temple University Law School professors and students has disclosed a "systematic effort" by landlords to evict poor and elderly residents from Atlantic City's tenements. Governor Byrne responded by appointing a task force to ensure that the city's poor are not left out of Atlantic City's boom.

Opponents of legalized gambling complain that the casino operations will not be taxed sufficiently to cover the costs of law enforcement and controls being implemented by the state.

And Dr. Jeannes predicts serious "moral" problems and wonders if "the image of the entire state will suffer from the sleazy atmosphere."

Police: spreading use of hypnotism worries experts

By Judith Frulig
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Amid the growing concerns of American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) officials and forensic psychiatrists, an increasing number of law-enforcement agencies, prosecutors offices, and public defenders are training their own hypnotists to help crack major crime cases.

To date, the most extensive use of hypnotism — employed to enhance the memories of willing witnesses and cooperative crime victims during interrogation — has been by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD).

But lately, via a series of national seminars conducted by the Law Enforcement Hypnosis Institute (LEHI) — established here last September by officials from the LAPD behavioral sciences division — law-enforcement officers are being trained elsewhere as well. Cities include Denver; Seattle; Portland, Oregon; Houston; Spokane, Washington; San Antonio, Texas; Boulder, Colorado; Orlando, Florida; Tucson, Arizona; Lansing, Michigan; Indianapolis; Washington, D.C.; and Hutchinson, Kansas. In May, 50 state and local Oregon po-

lice officials passed the four-day course on basic investigative hypnosis.

Although spokesmen for the LEHI are reluctant to discuss the agencies and cities involved, it is also known that law-enforcement officials trained in hypnosis include representatives from the Air Force Special Investigations Unit, the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol Tax and Firearms, and the FBI.

National society formed
A group of off-duty Los Angeles Police officials and psychiatrists have formed the National Society of Investigative and Forensic Hypnosis. Its purpose is to establish and maintain standards for its practicing members, according to Martin Reiser, head of the LAPD's behavioral sciences division and founder of the LEHI.

Investigative hypnosis, explains Dr. Reiser, is an induced state of "heightened alertness" in which a person, under the control of an interrogator, remains aware of everything around him and can recall events by playing back the "videotape of his mind." The officials who use it have been given a 48-hour training course in basic hypnosis.

On one hand, proponents of the technique describe investigative hypnosis as an efficient

and reliable tool that is intended to reduce police man-hours, apprehend criminals more quickly, and save taxpayers money.

On the other hand, opponents argue that the legal value of information elicited from a mesmerized witness is at best questionable and overshadowed by dangers of fantasized memories, deliberate lies, or unintentionally mistaken impressions.

Because of this, ACLU chapters in California and Oregon are about to launch a major probe of LAPD interrogation techniques, where the hypnotism techniques were pioneered by Dr. Reiser.

Questions raised
Ramona Ripston, executive director of the southern California chapter of the ACLU, says immediate questions include these: Are interrogators explaining the potential dangers? Do the subjects thoroughly understand the procedures and pressures they are subject to? Are the sessions being completely taped? Is an independent party monitoring the questioning for impartiality?

"Even without hypnosis, people break down under interrogation," she explains. "They admit to things they know they didn't do. Sometimes they are able to go back and set the

record straight, but what happens when someone 'confesses' under hypnosis?"

Some of the strongest criticism to date has come from Robert Reiff, an official of the American Board of Psychological Hypnosis (ABPH). In a telegram to Attorney General Griffin Bell, Dr. Reiff has asked the Justice Department to stop promoting the seminar being held here in Los Angeles.

"Such a powerful suggestive technique in the hands of law-enforcement personnel poses a serious threat to the rights of offenders and victims," said Dr. Reiff of the ABPH, an accrediting board for medical hypnosis. "This practice borders dangerously on the methods characteristic of the law-enforcement systems of totalitarian countries," he added.

Successes claimed
Dr. Reiser began using investigative hypnosis in 1970, mostly, he says, on hard-to-break cases such as homicide and rape. Since that time, LAPD officers, including 11 lieutenants and two captains, have employed hypnosis on several hundred cases, with a 60 to 70 percent success rate in eliciting new information which helped solve a case, Dr. Reiser says.

First of two articles

No mandatory death penalty, Court rules

By George Moneyhun
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Civil-rights lawyers are encouraged by the United States Supreme Court's latest capital punishment decision, which they say firms up previous rulings that the death penalty cannot be carried out in a "capricious or arbitrary" manner.

Law enforcement spokesmen, however, say the high court has taken away an important defense and left the police officer on the beat more vulnerable to violent attack.

The court's 5 to 4 ruling, June 6, that states may not make death the mandatory, automatic punishment for killing an on-duty police officer, means that states in the

process of reestablishing death-penalty statutes, must now allow judges and juries to take into account "mitigating" circumstances before deciding on the capital sentence.

While noting a "special interest" in protecting law-enforcement officers who routinely risk their lives for the public good, the court majority nevertheless said, "It is incorrect to suppose that no mitigating circumstances can

exist when the victim is a police officer."

"We're disappointed," said William Ellingsworth, spokesman for the International Association of Chiefs of Police. "The court's reasoning doesn't seem logical to law enforcement." Mr. Ellingsworth called the mandatory death sentence "a built-in safeguard for the police officer" and a deterrent to would-be assassins.

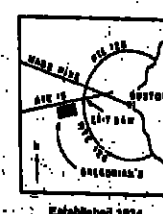
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United States

Remnant of Watergate: a question of presidential power

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Watergate is coming to an end. But in its forced reappraisal of the role of the American presidency, the effect of the greatest scandal in the nation's history only may have begun.

A federal district judge has ordered two men who were once among the most powerful in the nation to start jail sentences shortly — former Attorney General John N. Mitchell and former White House chief of staff, H. R. Haldeman.

The scene was brief and almost matter-of-fact and the faces of the two men expressionless.

But the drama was in the man not there. Former President Richard M. Nixon has just concluded four nationally televised broadcasts, and plans a fifth, while he is writing a book. He is living at San Clemente under unconditional pardon by his successor, Gerald R. Ford. The commercially sponsored broadcasts have been lucrative.

Mr. Nixon has also sought to re-define his comment made on the third of his TV shows

with interviewer David Frost: "Well, when the President does it, that means that it is not illegal."

In his new statement, submitted to the Washington Star, June 4, he says: "In dealing with a major threat to the public safety, a president who lets himself be paralyzed by the strict letter of the law would violate his oath."

Watergate began five years ago, June 17, 1972, with the arrest of five men in the office of the Democratic headquarters. Though Mr. Nixon apparently did not know of the burglary in advance, he joined in the subsequent cover-up.

Left unresolved in subsequent developments is the limit of presidential power.

Former FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover repeatedly demanded of successive attorneys general specific authority to tap wires and make illegal entries in the national interest on the theory of implied presidential power. Some gave it to him, others hedged.

Records show President Franklin D. Roosevelt listened appreciatively to material collected by Mr. Hoover in surreptitious entries.

President John F. Kennedy allowed the Cen-

tral Intelligence Agency to engage in foreign intrigues, including assassination plots against hostile leaders.

During Vietnam Mr. Nixon carried the process beyond his predecessors, justifying it on the grounds of national security. When New York Times Pentagon correspondent William Beecher on May 9, 1969, published a dispatch disclosing the secret U.S. B-52 bombings of Cambodia, for example, former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger allegedly instituted 17 FBI wiretaps on federal officials and others, including prominent newsmen.

Few observers express sympathy for Mr. Nixon, in view of the penalties paid by his subordinates — but many agree that the problem of the limits of presidential authority still remains.

The presidency is "out of control," Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. wrote in his book "The Imperial Presidency." He argues that the use of the White House as a base for espionage and sabotage against the political opposition "signified the extension of the imperial presidency from foreign to domestic affairs."

Theodore Sorensen, speechwriter for President Kennedy, in another book, "Watchmen of

the Night" said that "the same conditions and motivations that led to Watergate could well recur. The dangers it symbolized did not begin and will not end with Richard Nixon."

Former special assistant to President Johnson, George E. Reedy, in his book, "The Twilight of the Presidency" argues that the chief executive lives in an unreal world — "a universe in which every temper tantrum is met by instant gratification" and where the man who can unleash the atomic weapon is treated with almost mystic deference.

Following Watergate, however, Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter have returned to old customs of simplicity, and have given the nation two of the most open administrations of modern times.

Mr. Haldeman told reporters he will give his version of Watergate in a forthcoming book.

Mr. Mitchell was silent during the ordeal. He is the first attorney general to receive a jail sentence, running from 30 months to eight years, for obstructing justice, conspiracy, and perjury. John D. Ehrlichman, former chief domestic affairs advisor, has already begun serving his sentence and did not appeal.

Extra foreign aid unlikely

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

The Carter administration's expected request for an emergency increase in American foreign aid to help the poorest nations is likely to encounter formidable resistance in Congress.

Rep. David Obey (D) of Wisconsin, ranking majority member of the House appropriations subcommittee on foreign operations, goes so far as to predict that there is little chance the Congress will approve the request in light of President Carter's threatened veto of spending bills for needy people in the United States.

The proposed \$375 million aid increase was first mentioned May 30 by Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance in Paris at the Conference on International Economic Cooperation and Development. The funds apparently would be used as an American contribution to a \$1 billion special action program that the industrialized nations are offering to establish in an effort to lighten the debt repayment burden of the poorest developing nations.

Mr. Obey, who has been a strong supporter of the administration's foreign aid requests so far this year and who twice has offered amendments increasing budget ceilings to permit the funding of President Carter's foreign aid program, said: "I don't think we can do it again, and particularly not when we are telling our own citizens we can't afford to deal with their problems."

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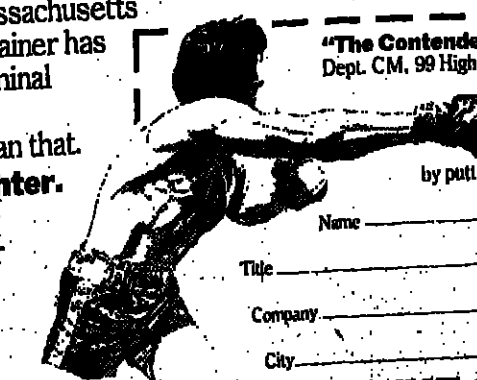
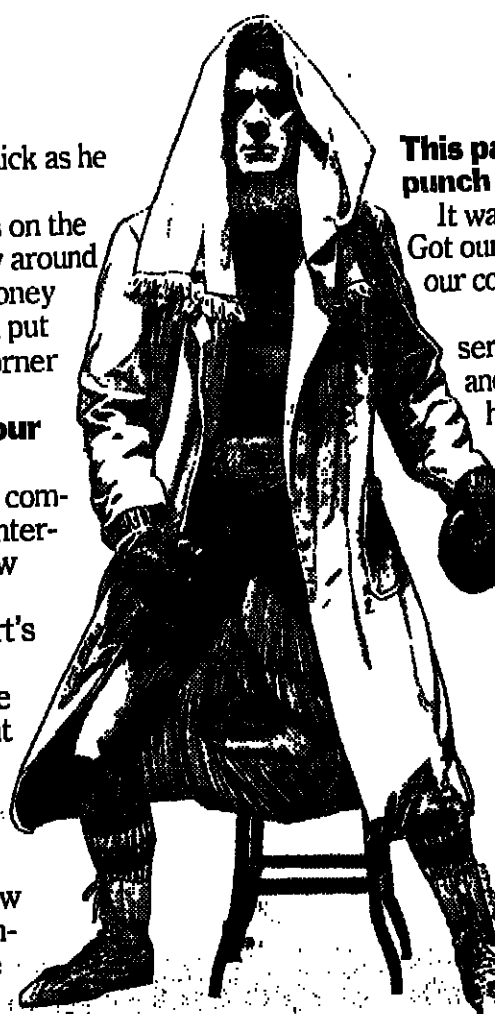
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Middle East

Menahem Begin: the path that toughened him

By Francis Olor
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Tel Aviv, Israel

To understand why Israel's expected new prime minister, Menahem Begin, is the hard-liner he is, one has to take into consideration a number of grave crisis situations that he has managed to survive.

At Israel's parliamentary elections May 17, Mr. Begin's Likud bloc, an alliance of right-

ropean politics. It was there that another revolutionary of Jewish origin, Leon Trotsky, signed away half of European Russia to the Germans when Mr. Begin was a small child.

Menahem Begin, however, cut himself off from East European politics. After a spell in an orthodox religious organization, he joined Betar as a teen-ager. This Zionist youth movement left the most lasting stamp on his political beliefs and style.

Mr. Begin emerged as a leader of the movement's radical wing. As early as 1933, at Betar's third world congress in Warsaw, he called for a guerrilla war against the British in Palestine. Betar's founder, Ze'ev Jabotinsky, although forecasting the tragedy of Europe's Jews, rejected the suggestion and rebuked Mr. Begin for "wrongly placed enthusiasm."

A year later, World War II broke out. As the bombs rained on Warsaw and Poland's 3,500,000 Jews became marked for Nazi extermination camps, Mr. Begin came to the conclusion that he, and not his teacher, had been right.

Caught between Hitler's war machine and Stalin's Red Army, Mr. Begin, at the head of 400 men, cut through to the Lithuanian city of Vilna in the hope of reaching Palestine. But he and thousands of Jewish refugees like him were refused visas for Palestine by British officials.

Soviet troops occupied the Baltic states and Mr. Begin found himself in a prison of the Soviet secret police. After three months of cruel interrogations, he was sentenced to eight years of forced labor in Siberia's Arctic region.

At the morning parade of prisoners, the



Menahem Begin
'Facts have to adapt themselves to his beliefs'

camp commander announced that under an agreement between Joseph Stalin and Gen. Vladimir Sikorski, then Prime Minister of Poland's government-in-exile, all Polish nationals could join the Polish Army, organized in the Turkish Republic of the U.S.S.R.

Four months later, in spring, 1942, Mr. Begin finally reached Palestine. He was traveling at the back of a Polish military truck when he suddenly noticed his wife, Alisa, standing at the roadside studying the faces of the former inmates of Russia's slave camps. She had succeeded in entering Palestine illegally a little earlier.

A man of action, Mr. Begin soon became deeply immersed in the growing conflict between Palestine's Jewish community and the British authorities administering that territory under a League of Nations mandate.

The Jewish underground was split into three organizations: the moderate Haganah, the secret self-defense army of the official Jewish leadership under David Ben Gurion; the more aggressive Irgun Zvai Leumi; and the terrorist Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, also known as the Stern Gang. In 1944 Mr. Begin was elected commander-in-chief of the Irgun.

Undeterred by personal sacrifice, wanted by the British "dead or alive," Mr. Begin frequently had to change his identity and address. He led the Irgun with a firm hand.

(To Arabs and many outsiders, he will be remembered for the Irgun's acts of terrorism against the Palestinian village of Deir Yassin and against the King David Hotel in Jerusalem (then British headquarters), both of which re-

sulted in many people being killed. At Deir Yassin these included the village's women and children.)

Finally, on May 14, 1948, four hours after the last British High Commissioner, Sir Alan Cunningham, had left the country, David Ben Gurion proclaimed in Tel Aviv the establishment of the State of Israel.

Mr. Begin, however, was not present at this most-longed-for ceremony of his life. Mr. Ben Gurion disagreed repeatedly with Mr. Begin's teacher, Jabotinsky, and felt a violent personal and political dislike towards the Irgun's commander. The founder of the state wanted no "dissident" to attend the historic session.

Mr. Ben Gurion's aversion to him dogged Mr. Begin's path for years to come. He was declared "taboo" by Mr. Ben Gurion, excluded from any Israeli government, and forced to remain in opposition, with a short exception under Prime Minister Levi Eshkol in the 1967 war.

The question is: Will Mr. Begin, the unyielding opposition leader, be capable of adapting himself to the pragmatic requirements of government? His first moves were not encouraging. A statement regarding Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River sounded provocative both to the Arabs and the United States.

However, this is only the beginning. Some Israelis would like to believe that after the first euphoria of election victory, a more sober view will prevail. Mr. Begin's statements do not necessarily represent unalterable dogma, they say.

Reconciliation targets range from Iraq to Egypt

Syria strives to regain place in Arab world

By Helena Cobban
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Damascus

Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, still smarting from widespread Arab criticism of his role during the latter months of the Lebanese civil war, has recently been making concerted efforts to overcome the relative isolation within the Arab world which resulted from these criticisms.

These efforts are directed as much toward Syria's longstanding rivals in Iraq as to states considered less hostile, such as Saudi Arabia.

Recent moves toward a reconciliation with Iraq included Foreign Minister Abdel-Halim Khaddam's lightning visit to last month's Islamic summit in Libya. Although not originally scheduled to attend the summit, Mr. Khaddam decided at the last minute to travel to Libya, where discussion of a possible reconciliation with Iraq apparently took up much of his

three-hour meeting with Libyan President Muammar al-Qaddafi.

Such a reconciliation would seek to end the long dispute between the two rival Baathist regimes, which gained new dimensions 18 months ago when Iraq abruptly hit the Syrian exchequer by cutting off oil supplies exported by pipeline through Syria's Mediterranean ports. This deprived Syria of substantial royalties.

Another dispute at that time concerned exploitation of the waters of the Euphrates River.

Troops diverted

Since then, Syrian troop concentrations along the Iraqi frontier have been strengthened. It is thought here that current Syrian steps toward reconciliation seek to allow the Assad regime to deploy a greater proportion of its armed forces — many of whose crack regiments are already engaged in Lebanese peace-

keeping — along the Israeli frontier in the event of increased Mideast tension.

Whatever the cause, there has in the last three months been an appreciable decrease in the propaganda directed by Syria's government-controlled media against the Iraqi regime. One insider recalls how a media commentator recently had his attention directed elsewhere when he sought to produce yet another tirade against the Iraqi Government in Baghdad.

A top Foreign Ministry official cautioned, however, that Syria has received no sign yet of any positive Iraqi response to peacemaking moves.

Syria's reconciliation efforts have equally been directed toward Saudi Arabia and the other oil-rich states which in 1974 and 1975 had provided the regime with substantial aid. This source of revenue was reduced drastically during the latter half of last year, when Syria's dispute with Saudi Arabia's friends in Egypt — primarily over developments in Lebanon — threatened to come to a head.

Dispute resolved

That dispute was resolved by Arab summit meetings in Cairo and Riyadh during October. But according to information available here the petrodollar aid reaching Syria since that date has nowhere near reached the levels of two years ago. There is some speculation whether the oil-rich states are even producing their promised contribution to the peace-keeping effort in Lebanon, the bulk of whose daily expenses are still met by Syria.

Amidst discussion here over whether petrodollar aid to Syria will ever again reach its 1975 level, Foreign Minister Khaddam's recent

trips to Gulf states are considered as yet another attempt to convince their rulers that Syria's differences with Egypt are truly over.

It is in this light that Syria's efforts to restore the former friendship between the Soviets and Egypt should be viewed, some observers here say. Those efforts have included the transshipment through Syrian ports of Soviet military equipment destined for Egypt — a discreet attempt to stem the deterioration in the Egyptian armed forces which observers feel may well have been sanctioned by the stridently anti-Communist Saudis.

Meanwhile, regarding Lebanon itself — the source of so many of Syria's current troubles, as some Syrians feel — officials here express satisfaction at the outcome of recent Syrian moves aimed at healing the wounds of the civil war.

Lebanese left a thorn

One source explained to this writer that the present stage of reconciliation efforts mainly concerns Syria's relations with the Lebanese leftists whom the Assad regime opposed in the latter months of the war. Once these relations are healed, he said, the two sides could present a common political front to the Lebanese right-wingers.

But an informed Western diplomat said he felt confident that Syria's role in any Lebanese reconciliation would be restricted to that of "honest broker" between the parties, rather than seeking to impose a political settlement.

There is common agreement, however, that Syria's interests lie in a speedy resolution of the Lebanese problem. Some estimates here put at "late 1978" the earliest date a substantial withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon can be expected.

Carter's statements worry Israelis

By Francis Olor
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Jerusalem

Associates of Israel's hard-line prospective next Prime Minister, Menahem Begin, are "playing it cool" in response to recent statements by President Carter which are worrying other Israelis.

But members of Mr. Begin's Likud bloc are voicing concern about what they see as efforts by traditionally anti-Israeli groups in the United States to exploit to Israel's disadvantage the lame-duck period before Mr. Begin takes over.

The Likud's attitude toward Mr. Carter's pronouncements on U.S. Middle East policy is markedly more relaxed — outwardly at any rate — than that of the outgoing government here. Yigal Alon, Foreign Minister in that government, called in U.S. Ambassador Samuel Lewis a fortnight ago to voice official concern at the President's recent remarks.

But Moshe Arens, a Likud member of Mr. Begin's inner circle described Mr. Carter's statements as "merely preliminary feelers." Once Mr. Carter and Mr. Begin meet and talk things over this coming summer, Mr. Arens said, "it will emerge that despite differences in peace concepts, the nearness of overall interests between the two countries will open the path to a coordinated peace strategy."

Israel, like the United States, Mr. Arens said, aims at Middle East peace, at securing steady oil supplies to the Western world and at strengthening U.S. influence in this region at the expense of the Soviet Union.

One of Israel's best friends

in Washington, Sen. Richard Stone (D) of Florida, has indicated he agrees with this assessment. Visiting Israel recently, Mr. Stone conferred twice with Mr. Begin, with Moshe Dayan, and with the Likud's leading defense expert, Ezer Weizman. Mr. Stone said that he had the impression from all these men of a genuine desire for peace.

Another key Likud member, Zalman Shoval, puts it this way: "The Likud's position has been misrepresented. A lot was said about territories but very little about the fact that uppermost in our minds is the search for peace."

What Likud leaders seem to be concerned about are not so much President Carter's statements but what Mr. Shoval described as efforts by "some traditionally anti-Israeli people in the United States."

U.S. opposition

Yitzhak Berman of Likud's Liberal Party wing was more explicit. He said: "Some people in the Department of State and of the oil lobby have always been unhappy about Israel's existence."

"They opposed the establishment of a Jewish republic. They resisted America's recognition of the State of Israel. They worked against supplying Israel with U.S. arms. And now they think the time to be ripe for emasculating the state of Israel."

Mr. Berman cautioned: "If anyone deludes himself by thinking U.S. Middle East problems can be solved by such a policy, he should realize that such a path would only create more problems, not less."

Likud's veteran foreign affairs expert, Elimelech Rimalt, who has just retired, at

ter 20 years in the Knesset (Parliament), pointed out that signs of a shift in Washington's stand came weeks before Mr. Begin's statement on settling Jews on the West Bank of the Jordan. "In fact, the American President's statements about a homeland for the Palestinians and Washington's exclusion of Israel from a list of most-favored nations for arms supplies contributed to Likud's election victory," Mr. Rimalt said.

The most relaxed comment came from a Likud Knesset member who wants to remain anonymous. "After all, Begin made his euphoric statement (on settlements in the West Bank) only a day after his election victory, so it is forgivable," he said. "But President Carter continues his verbal offensive despite the fact that he has now been in the White House for several months. It is really time that he called a cease-fire."

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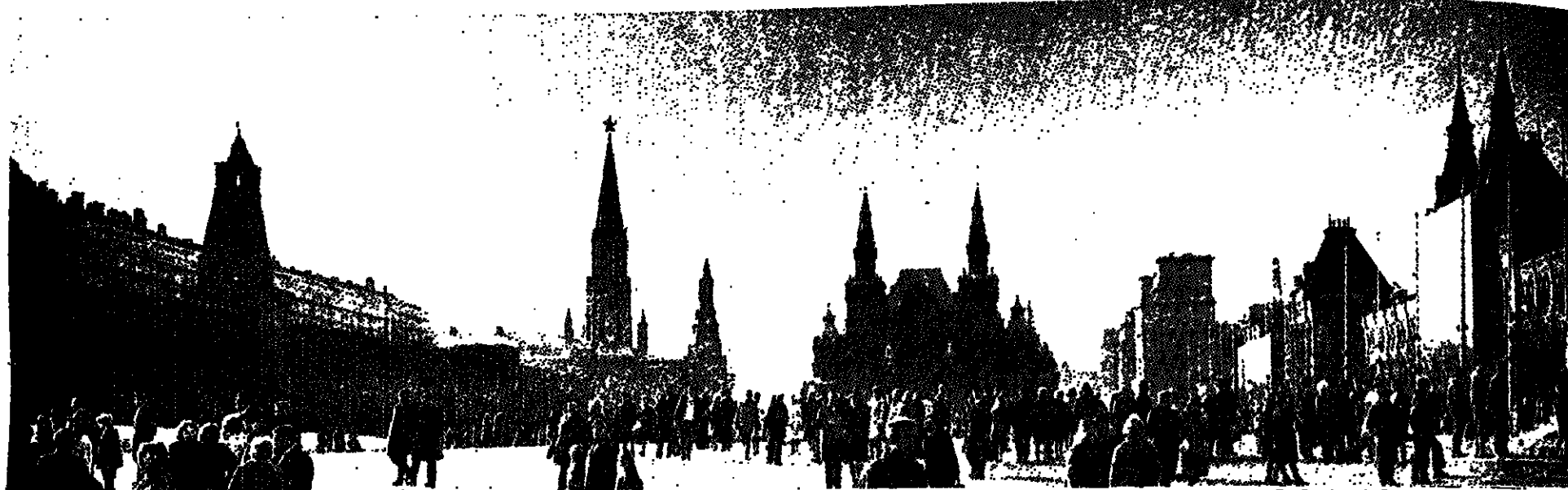
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Soviet Union



Red Square, Moscow

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Freedoms for Soviet citizens are broadened in Brezhnev's new constitution but exercising them must not injure the interests of society and the state

New Constitution: progress or propaganda?

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow — The Soviet Union of the Brezhnev era is trying to establish itself in world eyes as a country of laws rather than of terror and arbitrary rule. But Western analysts poring over the new Constitution just published here make these points:

- The intense interest focused on Leonid I. Brezhnev's motives in establishing this post of first vice-president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet indicates that 69 years of history have failed to remove the veil of mystery from the ways power is transferred at the very top. Mr. Brezhnev appears to be trying to make the transfer more orderly and less brutal than in the past.

- Elaborately stated citizens rights are made "inseparable" from the basic duty to support and strengthen the state. Thus the Kremlin has moved to try to block a favorite dissent tactic: to appeal to the Constitution to sanction their efforts. It now is even easier, analysts say, to dismiss such appeals on the basis of the new constitutional language.

- The new document is highly political. It is the less through which the Kremlin wants the world to view the achievements of the 60 years since the revolution of 1917. It is intended as a model for other countries, including those of Africa and Asia.

- Now stated with fresh clarity is the basic difference between the Soviet and the democratic approach to government and human freedoms.

In the Soviet Union no one has any rights except those specifically granted by the state. Hence those rights can be used only on the terms laid down.

- No major changes seem likely in Soviet domestic or foreign policies as a result of the new document.

- The major role of the armed forces is explicitly acknowledged. A new section on defense says that to ensure the defense of the country the state will equip the armed forces with everything necessary.

The new Constitution goes 17 miles to protect. Work began under Nikita Khrushchev in 1961. It was supposed to be finished for the 60th anniversary of the 1917 revolution (in 1977) and again for the 25th party congress (1978). Major developments on the need for new language in new sections apparently kept delaying it.

Mr. Brezhnev is thought to have pushed to introduce it now to try to consolidate his own place in history, as well as to celebrate the 60th anniversary of 1917 (Nov. 7).

The general feeling here is that when the Supreme Soviet ratifies the new text in October, Mr. Brezhnev will appoint as his first vice-president of the presidium, delegate to him many ceremonial duties, and take the post of President (chief of state) himself.

It is assumed that Nikolai Podgorniy, the former chief of state, either objected to the procedure or turned down the new post as a demotion and thus was forced out.

Another theory here, though less favored, is that Mr. Brezhnev will take both top posts before leaving for Paris on a state visit June 20.

In any case he seems to be using his dominance after 12 years in power to try and arrange both his own succession and his own place in history.

The new Constitution makes no formal provision for combining the two top party and government jobs. But it formally ratifies the leading role of the Communist Party, which was not mentioned in the 1936 document until Article 126. A new preamble and a new Article 6 enshrine the party as the leading and guiding force in Soviet society.

Mr. Brezhnev seems to be aware of the danger of appearing to be another Stalin. In his May 24 speech to the party Central Committee on the Constitution (published here June 5), he echoes the deStalinization campaign of Mr. Khrushchev.

He specifically refers to illegal repressions, violations of the principles of socialist democracy, and of Leninist norms in the years after the 1936 document was adopted. He says the party has condemned this and that it should never be repeated. The reference is to the Stalin purges of the late 1930s.

Freedoms and rights are broadened in the new Constitution. But exercising them must not injure the interests of society and state.

Rights now include choice of a job, housing, and health care, legal complaints against state abuses, enjoyment of culture, family life.

Citizens must be intolerant of anti-social behavior (which is not defined). They have a duty to protect the environment and to make their children good citizens.

The freedom to profess religion and perform religious rites is maintained. Anti-religious propaganda is permitted. But, notably, pro-religious propaganda (a proselytizing) is unmentioned — and is therefore illegal.

It remains illegal to teach religion to anyone under 18, even in the family circle. Sunday school and lectures are illegal.

The right to own private plots is continued. Citizens can be elected to Soviet (Councils of local government bodies) at age 18, instead of 21 or 23.

Sweeping 1936 freedoms of speech, assembly, demonstrations, etc., are retained. Access to printing presses is dropped. Access to radio and TV is added.

A basic criticism of the Soviet system by dissidents and Westerners is that these rights exist largely on paper, even today — though many analysts grant that Soviet society has swung decidedly away from Stalinist terror toward rule by law.

A new foreign policy section echoes the language of the Final Act of the Conference on European security and cooperation in Helsinki in 1975.

The new rights are expected to be cited by Moscow at this year's follow-up Belgrade conference, the preparatory meeting for which begins June 11.

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South Korea

Cement to chipmunks — business booms

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Seoul — A South Korean company ships a complete cement plant to Papua New Guinea. Thousands of South Korean technicians travel to the Middle East to work on construction sites there.

A 250,000-ton tanker receives the finishing touches at a South Korean shipyard.

These are just a few examples of the economic boom that is spreading over this country, unaffected by U.S. troop-withdrawal plans or the controversy over human rights violations. The economy grew by 15 percent last year, and planners confidently predict it will grow by another 9.2 percent a year over the next five years.

The manufacturing sector alone is expected to expand by almost 15 percent annually between now and 1981 as the country moves from the export of shoes and clothing to that of machinery, ships, and electronic equipment.

What fuels boom?

What explains this boom?

"The government gave people an opportunity to be creative," explains one economist on the public payroll.

"It's the government policy of 'management by objective,'" says a foreign economist.

"President Park [Chung Hee] gave his tech-

nocrats a free hand," adds another foreign economist familiar with the situation.

What this means is that every year the government hands down a plan for specific export targets. The many, growing trading companies here are told what items they can get government approval to finance, produce, and sell abroad.

"There's even a target for the export of chipmunks," a Western diplomat chuckles.

"They start with a calculation of how many new jobs to create. Then they calculate how much investment, in what areas, it will take to create them. Manufacturers are given a cafeteria of choices. They end up doing what the government will support," the Westerner continues.

In the last 14 years the industrialization led by the authoritarian government of President Park has produced some measurable results, observers agree. But it also has caused a controversy over how equitably the fruits of all this labor have been spread.

The increase in gross national product from \$3.9 billion in 1962 to \$13.3 billion in 1975 (both figures adjusted to 1970 terms) has brought with it enough new jobs to cut unemployment from 8.2 percent in 1963 to 3.0 percent in 1976. At roughly the same time wages rose by an inflation-adjusted average of 8.1 percent a year, according to government figures.

Moreover a World Bank study has concluded that the distribution of income in South Korea is among the most equitable in the developing

world. A 1970 survey showed that the bottom 40 percent of the South Korean people received 18 percent of the income, while the top 20 percent received 45 percent. This compares favorably with a number of more highly developed countries.

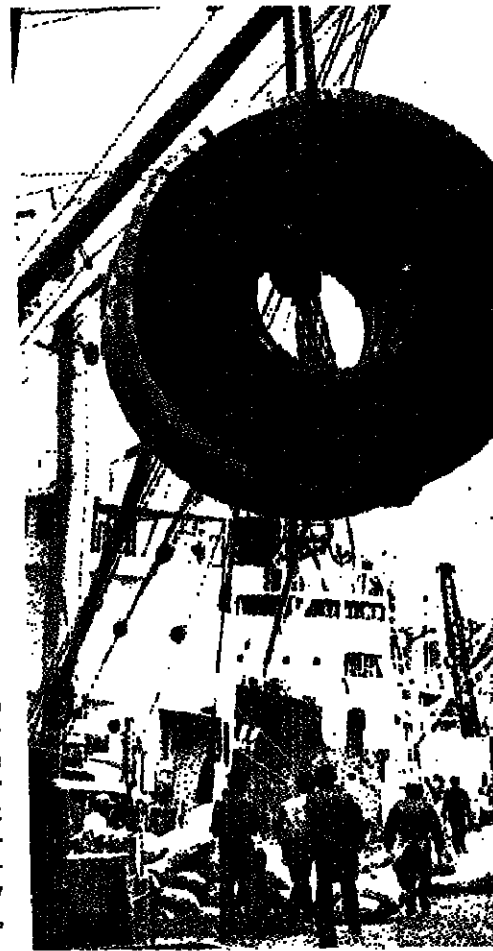
Critics vocal

Yet critics of President Park, including a number of liberal Christian churchmen and foreign missionaries, argue that the fruits of industrialization nonetheless have gone disproportionately to the rich. The official ban on collective bargaining, strikes, and the lack of a minimum wage law in many instances have kept wages too low, they maintain.

"The real intention of the government is to use low wages to compete with other nations," says one critic. "Government targets should be set lower and more realistically so as not to require such low wages to meet them."

These critics cite factory wages of \$40 to \$80 a month, 12-hour working days, and extremely tight management discipline as signs that the government has not adequately looked after the welfare of workers. While the government has sometimes "jawboned" for higher wages — and while newer enterprises pay more adequate wages — working conditions at many "sweat shops" too often have been neglected, they say.

Government economists reject the proposition that strong labor unions are necessary to raise wages.



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

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MONITOR readers respond!

Annual Meeting Call for greater spiritual vision

Boston
Christian Scientists from around the world who gathered recently for the 82nd Annual Meeting of members of The Mother Church, The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts, heard a basic summons:

"There is a demand on all of us for increased spiritual vision, greater Christian discipline, much more patience, love, courage, and integrity."

The words were spoken early in the meeting's first session, June 6, by the church's President-Elect, James Spencer of Birmingham, Michigan, a Christian Science lecturer.

"It's time," said Mr. Spencer, "for a real spiritual renewal."

The appeal echoed during the final minutes of the meeting when David E. Sleeper, Chairman of The Christian Science Board of Directors, called on members to "unite in good, strong prayer" and to do a better job of "responding to mankind's needs."

There were three main sessions in the one day meeting consisting of reports from church officers on the status of membership around the world, the church's publishing activities, and its financial status.

Church Treasurer Marc Engeler reported individual contributions in slight decline but estate and trust income up so that total giving to The Mother Church was above 1976 totals. He reported the Church free of debt, despite special capital outlays to provide long-range telephone and power economies in operations at the Church Center here.



David E. Sleeper, Chairman
The Christian Science Board of Directors



New officers named

By Kenneth H. McKelvie

The new President of The Mother Church, The First Church of Christ, Scientist, Boston, is James Spencer (left) of Birmingham, Michigan. The new First Reader is Mrs. Grace Channell Wason, of St. Louis, Missouri; the new Second Reader is Bryan G. Pope, of London, England. Mr. Spencer's term is one year; the new Readers will serve for three years.

Eric Bole, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of The Christian Science Publishing Society, reported steps taken in "a very deep-reaching program of economies and increased operating efficiencies" designed to counteract adverse budgetary trends. Publishing costs have risen drastically in recent years, he said — newsprint up 146 percent since 1967; postage up 185 percent. Despite the severe challenges of inflationary times, said Mr. Bole, considerable reductions on both costs and manpower have been achieved, but at the same time every effort is being made to maintain the quality of the church publications.

J. Burroughs Stokes, Manager of Committees on Publication, called upon members to "dig deeper, to mature, and grow spiritually." He cited numerous examples of continuing misconceptions in public thought regarding Christian Science.

"The time for sanguine hopes and complacency is past," he said, "but the time for thinkers and workers is here. The superficial and merely humanly optimistic is being cleared away. Genuinely fresh and healing ap-

proaches are coming to light."

Clerk Corinne LaBarre urged branch congregations to trust more profoundly to spiritual insights in adjusting to changing times and conditions. She reported both the decline of membership activities in some areas and newfound growth and vigor in others.

Chairman Sleeper also acknowledged a continuing need for steadier church attendance by those of all ages. But, as with primitive Christianity, he said, mere surface conditions do not discourage "committed followers of the Master."

"If Jesus hadn't been able to read the signs of the times spiritually," Mr. Sleeper declared, "he might have been terribly discouraged. We too must read the signs of the times correctly and act from the standpoint of spiritual vision."

In addition to the annual election of the new church President, the elections of Mrs. Grace Channell Wason of St. Louis, Missouri, to be the new First Reader of The Mother Church, and of Bryan G. Pope of London, England, to be new Second Reader, were announced.

Church names new director

A new member has been named to the Board of Directors of The Mother Church, The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Mass.

He is Harvey W. Wood, of Evanston, Illinois, a Christian Scientist long active in the healing ministry of the Church of Christ, Scientist. For the past four years, Mr. Wood has been a Christian Science lecturer.

The Board of Directors is the principal governing body of the denomination whose international headquarters is in Boston. Branch Christian Science congregations are located in many countries around the world. The church was founded in Boston in 1879 by American religious leader, Mary Baker Eddy.

Mr. Wood succeeds Otto Bertschi, who has retired in order to return to the full time public practice and teaching of Christian Science. He has been a member of the Board — and its first member from overseas — since 1972.

The Board change was effective as of June 10.

The new director studied at the University of Texas and, following naval service, graduated from Tulane University in Louisiana where he helped establish a Christian Science campus organization.

Both men are teachers of Christian Science and former lecturers. Mr. Wood has been a church member since 1943 and active in the full-time public healing practice of Christian Science since 1961. From 1951 to 1955, he served as a Christian Science minister for the armed services. He became a Christian Science teacher in 1961.

Mr. Bertschi has been a teacher of Christian Science for the past 25 years. As a Christian Science lecturer, beginning in 1963, he traveled extensively in the United States as well as throughout Europe, Asia, and South America.

Snow drought sets back Colorado ski industry

By United Press International

Colorado's ski industry, which attracted \$100 million during the 1976-77 ski season, suffered a nearly 50 percent decline in business during the snow drought of last winter, officials report.

National Party: halfway through and still smiling

By Alistair Carthew
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Wellington, New Zealand
Midway through its three-year term, the National Party government of New Zealand is confident about its reelection prospects despite some unpopular economic measures that have cost it voter support.

Now, if the economy can show signs of righting itself by next year, the voters likely will turn their attention to other issues. General elections are due in November, 1978.

The main indicators of National Party popu-

larity have been two by-elections, one of which it won and the other it lost.

Traditionally, by-elections here go against the party in power, so the government had reason to be pleased with a split. As a result, it maintains a 55-to-32 edge over the opposition Labor Party in Parliament.

In the election that was lost, there was a 17 percent swing away from the government party, which if applied nationally would have meant serious trouble to Prime Minister Robert Muldoon.

But this result came in an urban district that traditionally votes Labor and in which the population is feeling the pinch of rising prices and

wage restraints. And, rather than starting a trend, it was followed by the election that the Nationals won and in which the swing away from the government was a modest 4 percent.

Then, too, there are some encouraging signs in the sluggish economy here. Inflation, which was running at 15 percent a year ago, is down to 13.2 percent. Prime Minister Muldoon hopes the inflation rate will be in single numbers before the general elections.

Mr. Muldoon pledged three years of uphill slog when he took office in December, 1975. Given the opportunity of another three years — or more — in office, it seems safe to say he will have led New Zealand out of the

lingering recession it has been in since 1974. Still, the Prime Minister is not without his problems. Despite record overseas earnings from agricultural products last year, the country continued living beyond its means — importing more than it exported. Farm income is expected to drop as much as 19 percent this year, and the government is reluctant to impose direct import controls because of the effect they would have on employment.

And last March 13,000 people left the country permanently, the highest-ever net migration total, and the government's policies are being blamed for it. Many of them were skilled tradesmen and professional people.

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THE HAGUE

Is the medium, not the message, the problem?

By Arthur Unger
Television critic of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York
All or nothing at all — is that the new theme song of our television environment?

Is the proper way to fight the unwanted effects of TV simply to eliminate TV itself, obliterate it from the environment it is expropriating? Has the focus been wrong all these years?

While media-aware organizations have been struggling to improve television by decreasing violence, eliminating commercials, and improving the image of minority groups, should the concentration instead have been on annihilating TV completely?

That's how Nicholas Johnson, chairman of the U.S. National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting and former head of the Federal Communications Commission, interprets a recent book by Marie Winn, "The Plug-In Drug," in the NCCB magazine Access. Mr. Johnson suggests that "what she [Miss Winn] argues with devastating persuasiveness is that whatever monumental harm may be caused by television's content, it is nothing compared with the much more serious consequences of watching anything on television." Mr. Johnson suggests that there might even be cause for a massive study by the surgeon general or the National Institute of Mental Health.

According to Miss Winn, "It is the parents for whom TV is an irresistible narcotic — not through their own viewing (although frequently this is the case) but at a remove, through their children, fanned out in front of the receiver, strangely quiet. Surely there can be no more insidious a drug than one that you must administer to others in order to achieve an effect for yourself."

Without TV, parents would have to substitute hours of actual physical contact with their own children, baby-sitters would be more difficult to attract, and conversation in the home would have to revive.

But almost all psychologists tend to agree with Miss

How TV is changing our society

Winn's premise that environmental experience affects mental development in measurable ways and that early experience is more influential than later experience. Thus, it seems inevitable that the TV experience, which takes up so many hours of a child's working day, must have some effect upon his mental development.

Clinical and educational psychologist Karen Graess, in private practice in London, cites a theory of brain functioning that assumes there is a neutral resting state for the brain which has a biologic need to be stimulated.

"The brain tends to move out of that rest state, actively seeks stimulation, and then operates on that stimulation, fitting it into what it already knows. It sort of retests the new stimulation against its body of knowledge, its own known reality. Then the stimulus exits and the brain goes back to its resting state. With the developing child, the child has to move about in order to get the stimulation. So motor movement of the body is learned by having to go out and work at finding stimulation in the environment.

"Obviously, TV watching doesn't require that at all. The brain appears to be having its need for stimulation gratified by what I would call a sort of pseudo-stimulation. For a small child to develop a sense of his own body in space he has to move that body about. If he's simply sitting and watching TV, not only is he deficient in stimulation, but he is deficient in motor development. With adults the effect is not so detrimental, but it would be similar."

Psychologist Graess insists that "TV is a dirty trick to play on children, because there is an inborn mechanism to be stimulated and in the course of being stimulated, a

curiosity drive. You don't learn the things you need to learn by the passive experience of TV."

"TV gives everyone instant and indiscriminate information," says Neil Postman, professor of media ecology at New York University. "People are getting so much information they are experiencing an information overload and just can't process it," the professor told TV host Steve Scheuer recently. "Instead of utilizing TV methods, our schools should be teaching kids how to process this information overload."

Withdrawal from life?

Research teams have discovered that TV may instill an attitude of passive withdrawal from direct involvement in life, and sometimes cause a drop in individual creative ability. On top of all that, in many cases it presents an idyllic view of society and thus creates dissatisfaction in those who do not share in it. Or the reverse: It presents such a bleak picture that it causes fear and depression in those who become afraid to share in it.

Says Dr. Richard Palmer, president of the American Medical Association: "TV has been quick to raise the question of social responsibility with industries which pollute the air. In my opinion TV may be creating a more serious problem of air pollution."

So what do we do about it? Long ago, Marshall McLuhan warned that the censorship-minded would eventually conclude that there is nothing to do but suppress television entirely.

Tony Schwartz, author of "The Responsive Child," insists that "our society must not pay too much attention to the research being done today because it has been focused on perception rather than the effects of television. . . . If we would study the effects of TV, we would have a clear idea of what the content actually is. After all, it is the content, not the intent, which has the effect."

What does he suggest we do? "Study changes in our society that have come about

and TV. Examine religion: So many Latin Americans are now in the native tongue; supermarkets are an electric-age development, for example. . . . study the changes in people from the time you were a new element into the environment. Counting the number of times Mickey Mouse hits Minnie Mouse just do it."

addition? "There is no more addiction to television than there is addiction to the air around us." . . . when TV addiction is realized by the "victim," it is necessarily shunned.

Recently the University of Berlin and the second German TV network (ZDF) collaborated in a study of two long-term Berlin families which abstained from television for four weeks.

According to a review in Visions by Stephen Hearst of the text of the TV show which resulted from the experiment ("Four Weeks Without Television"): "No surprising conclusions were reached by the authors of the experiment. After four weeks of electronic abstinence, the two families returned thankfully to their television and watched more than before. During the experiment, they seemed to eat more hot, returning home exhausted from repetitive manual work, they were disposed to go in for many alternative diversions from their viewing. They came to realize their dependence on TV and were not too much bothered by that dependence."

Traditional members of the television community tend to disregard the ominous acceptance of the television environment and still think of TV in traditional terms.

President and chairman of the board William S. Paley responded very well to the term addiction because the overtones it carries with it. I think people are terribly interested in certain programs and go the way to see them, but I do think also that they are missing certain things. It all depends upon how they use what we have to offer. I don't think they

are going to give up what they do normally. I don't think that people in this country will be sitting around for five or six hours every night doing nothing but watching television."

Does Mr. Paley believe that TV is in its infancy, that what we have today will someday be considered a narrow form of a much broader entity?

"I think everything is in its infancy. This is an evolving world and things don't stand still — they change. Newspapers won't be the same 20 or 30 years from today and they're not the same today as they were 30 years before. So, always in life, there are changes taking place. But to predict now as to what forms television will take 20, 30, 40 years from now is very difficult."

"We respond quickly"

"We respond very quickly and very effectively to what the public wants and what it needs," Mr. Paley goes on. "There are certain limits, of course, because we have to maintain certain standards. So the public will be the determining factor in what kind of television we'll be giving the public."

Some TV executives are beginning to advocate less rather than more TV viewing. Only recently in London, Lord Bernstein, top man at Granada TV, told his stockholders: "Indiscriminate viewing debases people's television appetite and is not good for the medium. I urge them to switch off if the program is not good enough."

And in New York, "Plug-In Drug" author Marie Winn conducted an experiment in which schoolchildren were asked to participate in a "No TV Week" to discover what it is like to live without television. Results were mixed and inconclusive, since the "experiment" deteriorated into a TV event itself, with widespread television coverage of what appeared to be an obvious promotion for the book. Thus, TV research became TV itself.

Traditionalists insist that all we have to do is grapple with the problem of TV pollution just as we fight air pollution. Since we cannot shut off the supply of air completely, we must carefully control what we allow to pol-

lute it by fighting, piecemeal if necessary, for what we as individuals consider valid content.

But at the same time, we must not abdicate our role as controller of the TV dial. We can limit the number of hours per day we watch, place the set in inconvenient locations, demand consoles with doors to shut out that all-devouring eye, exclude the set from the home completely, carefully review the day's programming, and select programs in accord with personal standards. Most important for family viewing, we can try to be present with the family in front of the set so that attitudes and reactions can be discussed, shared, and resolved.

And we can encourage researchers to stop figuratively lifting up the hood of the car to check for the effect of the automobile on society and instead look to the highways, the towns, the changes in social structure that came about because of the development of the car.

One thing we do know: Despite the reality-fantasy confusion that plagues heavy TV viewers and seems to have affected our whole society, there is very little that we are going to be able to do to stop it altogether.

Chances are that, by the time adequate research has been completed on the effects of the television environment on our society as well as on individuals, television will have moved on to another stage.

Do we sit there watching, enjoying, sneering, protesting, researching, and in the long run, accepting a majority of what is offered to us?

Yes. Unless one is willing to ban television from one's home. But then one must face the problems of surviving in a TV-less home in the midst of a universal TV environment.

Either way there is a fantasy-reality conflict that only time can resolve.

Is TV changing your life? Yes!

For better, or for worse?

Ask that question again in about 50 years.

Second of two articles



Series designed by Albert J. Forbes, staff artist

From page 1

★Questions first: oil to follow

Still, the major hurdle between the cross-over from construction to operations of the \$7.7-billion trans-Alaska pipeline is a mountain of paperwork and a sea of legal charges.

The flow will start when an operator pushes a single button at Pump Station 1, 18 miles south of the Prudhoe Bay oil field.

In the final phase, already begun, nitrogen is being pumped into the first 18 miles of the pipeline. Until June 20, the inert gas will be held back by a closed valve. (The gas is a safety device to insure oxygen is removed from the pipeline ahead of the oil to eliminate possible explosions.)

At start-up, when the valve is opened, the gas — under tremendous pressure — will expand to fill an 85-mile stretch of line. And the first trickle of hot oil, then 140 degrees F., will begin to move.

Between the gas and the oil, Alyeska will launch a barrier called a "pig" — a metal device — eight feet long, four feet in diameter — which will be pushed by the hot oil for the entire 800 miles. Inside the pipe, the "pig" will reveal its location by bumping and scraping the lining. Outside a tracking team, equipped with car phones, will walk alongside the entire route, listening for thumps and electronic pings to ensure that the oil flow is on course, checking for leaks, thermal stress, and movement of the pipe as it changes shape in the hot oil. Helicopters will monitor the ground crews.

As the oil moves down the line, the pipe will warm and expand; 30 to 45 days later, the hiss of venting nitrogen will announce the arrival of the oil — then approximately 30 degrees — at Valdez, Alaska.

Large consortium

As the countdown proceeds:

- Top-level officials for Alyeska — the consortium of eight oil companies building the line from this, the nation's largest known oil field — are playing industrial war games at random locations along the 800-mile route.

- There have been audits, subpoenas, charges, and countercharges between pipeline administrators, state officials, and federal monitors.

- Crucial questions concerning the consumer price of North Slope crude oil have not been resolved.

Despite all of this, D-day for the start of the oil flow from the Prudhoe Bay oil fields to the southern shipping terminal in Valdez — originally set for mid-July — has been pushed forward to June 20.

From page 1

★Britain's double triumph: Commonwealth and Queen

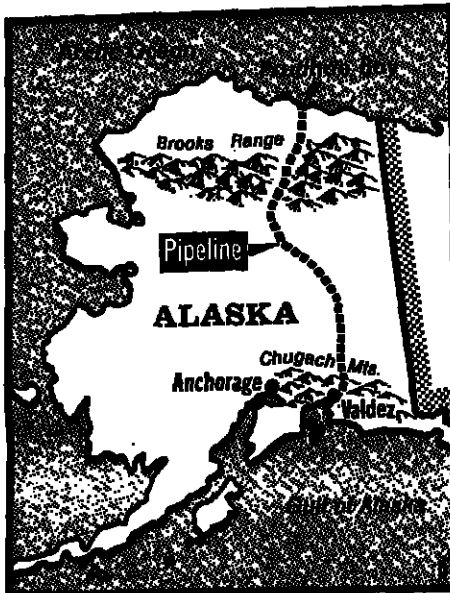
Never has the British monarchy been seen to be so popular as it was this past week — not even during Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee. There was a politically serious republican movement in Britain then. There is none now.

Britain today is in the economic doldrums. Its military power has declined drastically within a single generation. Its Empire has been liquidated. Its imperial nod can no longer shake kingdoms to far corners of the globe. And yet 35 heads of government are delighted to come to London to be seen together and with the Queen. Every one of them will be carrying home a photograph taken at Buckingham Palace with the Queen. And that photograph will be a cherished memento throughout their career and life.

It is merely a fact that people living under

most monarchies today have more freedom and lead happier lives than do many more people living in countries which presumably marched ahead by getting rid of their old monarchies. Even one country, Spain, has revived its dormant monarchy — and is better off for having done so.

The survival of the Commonwealth is perhaps even more remarkable than the popularity of the British monarchy. Why do all these countries which chose political independence from Britain cling to association with Britain now? Partly it is because they were allowed to go when they thought they wanted to go. None was held back by force of arms. The British Empire was liquidated without bloodshed between British and local peoples (though there was much shed in subsequent in-



planations for evidence in the commission's possession of extensive cost overruns and management problems on the trans-Alaska pipeline project.

In a prepared statement, Mr. Lenzner said the subpoenas were issued after Alyeska refused to make available its chief executive officers, including Mr. Patton.

Mr. Lenzner said the commission had requested the interviews in order to obtain explanations for indications that:

- Construction began and continued without an effective cost-control mechanism.

- There was an absence of incentives for contractors to cut costs on the project.

- There may have been duplication in management structure and responsibility.

- Management did not effectively utilize labor and equipment.

- There was unnecessary delay in establishing effective internal control systems in the areas of equipment, labor, materials, and accounting.

According to assistant special counsel Terry Bird, lawyers considered Alyeska and its owner oil companies — by denying the commission request — would deprive the state pipeline commission, the public, and the state of crucial revenue.

"This significant difference," said Mr. Lenzner, "could result in an ICC determination that could substantially reduce the state's anticipated revenues throughout the life of the pipeline."

Responding to these charges, Mr. Patton said: "After Mr. Lenzner builds his first major pipeline project, he might be qualified to comment on that."

The hearings are closed to the public. A report will be issued later this month.

Other problems include:

- Corrosion. The entire length of the pipeline already has been recoated in an effort to lessen damaging corrosion, after the company building the line decided the initial coating was inadequate, according to new reports in the Los Angeles Times.

As a result, Alyeska has quietly sued Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. (3M) and a Texas company — Surfco, Inc. Since then, a complicated and costly round of claims and counterclaims reportedly has developed in the charge Superior Court. Damage awards are expected to total more than \$20 million.

Northern Lights effect

Corrosion on the pipeline is intensified by the presence of electric charges in the air produced at least in part by the presence of the Aurora Borealis. Pipelines are coated to isolate the steel from surrounding moisture and minimize the corrosion process. As steel contacts moisture, it generates an electrical flow that apparently eats into the pipeline and eventually could result in leaks.

On the trans-Alaska pipeline, selection of the proper coating was particularly important because the line is a hot oil line (ranging in temperatures from 140 to 300 degrees) and running through permanent frozen ground.

- Dispute over an acceptable oil-spill contingency plan. Since last August, when Alyeska first submitted a battle plan to combat oil spills, the federal and state agencies involved in the decision have been conducting meetings, exchanging critiques, and ironing out final details of a policy agreement.

The first draft was rejected. Now, with less than a week away, all three agencies say they are close to agreement.

The plans are specific with assigned teams on 24-hour call and under a military-like chain of command. A major test came on March 21, when Alyeska ran its first surprise oil spill drill — which was answered in only 20 minutes.

Last-minute preparations for the pipeline have included hydrostatic testing of the entire length of the line. And recently the "gale weld" was made, sealing shut the entire 80-mile ribbon of stainless steel.

ternal civil strife). The Americans were the last really to fight their way out from under British rule.

Add that wherever Britain once ruled something was given which continues to be valued today. Usually it has been a system of equal justice before the law. Always there is left over at least the memory of a nonpolitical police force and the memory of a parliamentary political system responsive to the wishes of the people.

So this past week London was the scene of a remarkable tribute to the success of the Royal House of Windsor in doing its job to the satisfaction of the British people and to the admiration of much of the world. And it was also the scene of a homecoming for the people of many

hues and faiths who still cling to something of that culture which the word British connotes and which still finds its heart and center along the lower reaches of the River Thames.

Edward R. Murrow called the Thames a river of liquid history. That history concerns not just the people who inhabit the British Isles. So many have gone out from there to all corners of the world and carried with them fond memories of the sights and sounds of London, and also of the standards which still have something to do with whether a people think of themselves as being civilized.

There were a lot of Americans also among those who flocked to London over the past week. After all, no one knows how to stage a procession better than do the British.

Egypt hails Podgorny ouster

By Reuter

President Sadat has welcomed the Kremlin's action in removing Nikolai Podgorny from the ruling Politburo.

He accused the Soviet leader of having insulted the Egyptian Army. The official Middle East News Agency quoted Mr. Sadat as saying: "Thank God the Soviet leaders discovered the reality of this man and removed him from power." Speaking to men of the Third Army during a visit to Suez, the Egyptian leader said he had released a request by Mr. Podgorny to come to Egypt four months before the October 1973 war between Israel and the Arab states.

"I said I am not ready to receive a man who defamed the Egyptian Army and Arab forces," the agency quoted President Sadat as saying. "I will not receive him on Egyptian soil, whatever the case may be. Now the Soviet leaders have realized what sort of man he is."

home

Raising plants on liquid diet

By Peter Tonge

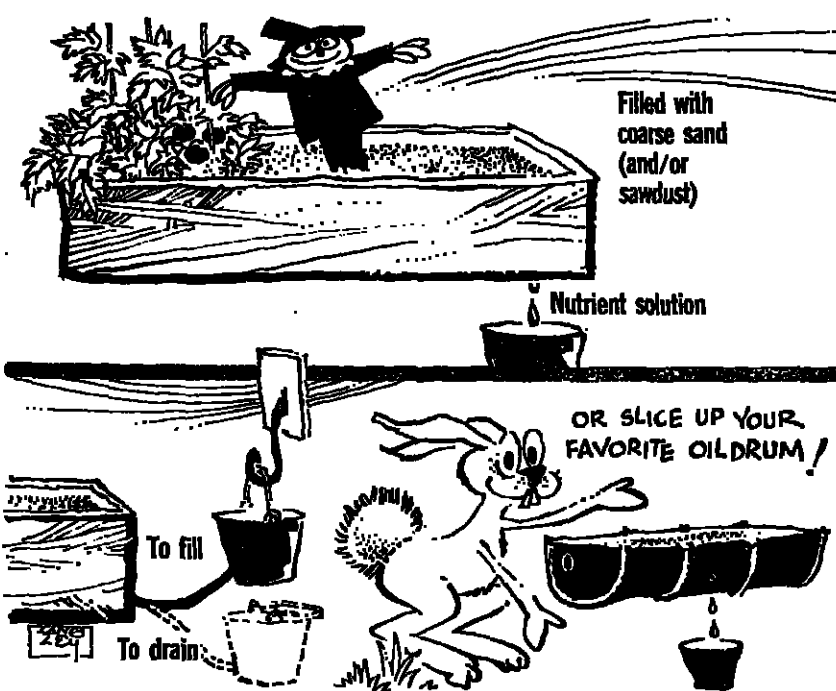
Weymouth, Massachusetts
Once, to the surprise of several friends and a few interested relatives, I grew a substantial crop of tomatoes and some pretty good-looking carnations without the help of any soil at all. They were grown in boxes filled with sterile, coarse builder's sand.

The trick, if such it can be called, was to feed the plants a complete nutrient solution — a balanced fertilizer which also included the trace elements, or micro-nutrients as they are sometimes called. Later I grew strawberries of outstanding flavor in pure sawdust using the same feeding method.

Soilless culture, or hydroponics (derived from the Greek words meaning "working water"), has begun to gain in popularity among home gardeners in recent years. But it is far from a recently discovered technique. The English were experimenting with hydroponics 300 years ago; and some 2,000 years before that we had the Hanging Gardens of Babylon.

The Hanging Gardens (terraced gardens, in fact) were filled with gravel through which the naturally fertile Euphrates River water was pumped. The plants, if the chroniclers of Nebuchadnezzar II and the Babylonian Empire are to be believed, grew very well in this hydroponic system.

The key to hydroponic success, of course, is the complete fertilizer. Most standard garden fertilizers contain those nutrients — nitrogen, phosphorus, and po-



tassium — needed in bulk by the plants but not the several micro-nutrients taken up by plants in minuscule amounts but which are nonetheless vital to good growth.

In recent years several brands of hydroponic chemical fertilizers have come onto the market to meet the home gardener's needs.

Automated systems

Available now are several brands of fully automated hydroponic systems for the home which virtually eliminate all garden work beyond sowing, harvesting, and the periodic changing of the nutrient solution.

But they are expensive. And if the idea interests you it might be advisable first to experiment a little, as I did, with a few discarded boxes and a bucket or two be-

fore investing in such labor-saving equipment.

Fill the boxes with coarse sand, sawdust, or a mixture of both. Drill a drainage hole at one end of the box and tilt it fractionally in that direction. Dampen the sand with plain water and sow the seeds or set out the plants (if sowing out seedlings first soak the soil and gently wash it from off the roots).

Now apply the nutrient solution slowly until the growing medium is soaked. If the nutrient solution is not organic, avoid, if possible, splashing the plants which might be burned by the salt solution. Now place a bucket or some other receptacle under the drainage hole to catch the solution.

I would apply the nutrient solution to the beds in the morning and again each afternoon when I returned from the office. Each morning I would add enough water

to the drained solution in the bucket to bring it up to the original volume.

A new batch of solution would be made up every two weeks and the old solution that remained would be fed to plants in the conventional garden.

Most of the automated systems irrigate the hydroponic beds from the bottom up. Aqua-Ponics, an Anaheim, California, company, recommends that the timer be set for three irrigations a day — early morning, late morning, and mid-afternoon. The beauty of these systems, says Mrs. Pamela Taylor of Aqua-Ponics, is that "you don't have to be home to feed the growing plants. The timer does it for you." You can even go away on vacation without needing a "garden-sitter."

In a sense, says Mrs. Taylor, these "hydroponic systems provide 'room service' to the plants — three meals a day are brought right to the roots which do not need to spread out in search of nutrients." This is one reason planting can be much closer than is generally the case in conventional gardening.

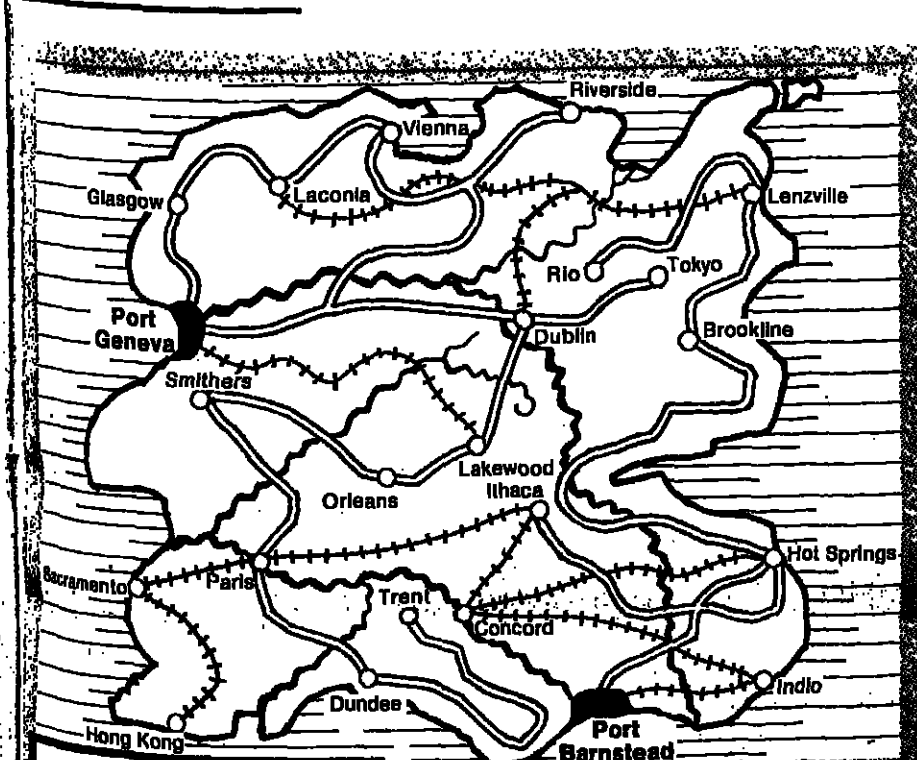
Organic solutions

Meanwhile, organic solutions made their hydroponic debut in a government-funded, rooftop gardening project in Montreal, Canada, last year. Successful crops of lettuce and tomatoes were grown in a sterile mix of perlite and vermiculite using a solution made up of 1½ teaspoons of fish emulsion, 1½ teaspoons of liquid seaweed, and 1 teaspoon of bloodmeal to each gallon of water. In the Canadian experiments the hydroponically grown crops out-produced the soil-grown control crops. Tomato production was up by one-third.

The Canadians consider this to be a basic solution which could be amended depending on the needs of individual crops. Cabbage, for instance, benefits from calcium so the blending of eggshells into the solution would prove beneficial.

Another option would be to use a "tea" made from high-quality compost.

For children



ISLAND MAZE

Everyone is happy on this island and likes to travel.

Car roads +-----+

Train tracks +-----+

Rivers ~~~~~

They run around by car, train or boat.

But to get from Port Geneva to Port Barnstead in this maze they may change their kind of transportation only once. And only in a town.

Dandelions for epicures

By Priscilla Mastings Dunn

Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

In some parts of the world, the dandelion is an epicurean delight. In others, it is considered an objectionable weed.

The first thing to remember about wild dandelions is that they must be picked before they blossom or they will be tough and bitter. The next requirement is that they must be meticulously clean. You will need several rinsings to free all the sand.

Chopped, cooked dandelion greens and minced scallions are great by themselves with a French dressing or to top a mixed green salad. They go well with tomatoes, too.

A Greek friend who is a chef advises getting your fresh dandelion leaves into the pot as soon as possible; "Before sundown of the picking." Also remember that the leftover broth, no matter how little, is called the elixir of spring. Some say this "pot liquor" is the best part of the dish. Here is how the Greek chef cooks them.

For 1 pound of wild greens use a quart of salted water. For domestic or market greens use 1 cup of water. Cover, boil rapidly until tender, 5 or 10 minutes, then drain. The Greeks pass the crust of olive oil, spices and pungent, fresh lemon.

Other seasonings for boiled greens include minced, sautéed onion, chili sauce, bottled horseradish, vinegar, chopped cooked beets or chopped chives. Buttered dandelion greens are delicious.

Many people cook all greens, such as spinach, turnip greens, Swiss chard, kale, beet tops, and others with no water except drops that cling to the leaves after washing. Here's how to do it with dandelion greens.

Dandelion Greens

Remove any discolored or badly broken leaves. Wash greens thoroughly, using slightly warm water at first. Cut off roots and any tough stems and wash again, lifting the greens

out of water to allow sand to settle in the pan. Sprinkle with salt.

Cook, covered tightly, until limp and just barely tender, in a steamer, or in a large, heavy pot, about 5 minutes. Drain, chop fine, or cut through a few times. Season with butter, pepper, and salt.

You may also top with chopped, hard-cooked egg, sliced or whole mushrooms, or sliced, toasted almonds.

Our Southern friends and old-time New Englanders cook their dandelion greens with a piece of salt pork and season them with vinegar and pepper.

A tempting and rather different way to serve dandelion greens is creamed, using sour cream. Known as Rohrsalat in Sauren Rahm, this is a specialty in Vienna where the greens are hailed with great enthusiasm in early spring.

Creamed Dandelion Greens

2 pounds dandelion greens
1 cup sour cream
Salt and pepper to taste
Sweet paprika

If you wish a mild flavor, you may blanch the greens by plunging in boiling water and removing after 1 or 2 minutes, then cook as follows. In a generous-sized, heavy pot, bring ½ cup water to boil. Add cleaned greens, cook for 10 minutes. Drain and chop.

Heat sour cream slowly on low heat. Add greens. Bring almost to boiling, but do not boil.

Reader's recipe

Shortbread

2 cups of plain flour
2 tablespoons of powdered sugar
1 tablespoon of cornstarch
6 ounces butter and a few drops of vanilla

Sift flour, sugar, cornstarch (cornstarch). Mix thoroughly and knead well. Put in tin, prick with fork, bake 350 degrees for 30 minutes.

— L. B. E. Pearce, Birmingham, U.K.

financial

French Left won't win, Premier predicts

Barre upholds policy for economic health

By Philip W. Whitcomb
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris

In the legislative elections next March, France will reject the Socialist-Communist "Common Program for Government." French foreign trade is moving steadily toward equilibrium in 1980. The dollar value of the franc will be maintained.

Raymond Barre, French Premier, Minister of Finance, economist, and counselor for 17 years to both the French Government and the European Economic Community, makes these affirmations in an interview with the Monitor.

The Premier's declarations came after fresh attacks by Georges Marchais, Communist Party chairman, speaking at a huge popular rally, and by Socialist leader Francois Mitterrand, during a television debate with Mr. Barre.

"The government's economic policy," Mr. Barre held, "is based solidly on the realization that in order to re-establish the conditions of strong growth, to return to full employment, and to progress in social justice and in general well-being, it is indispensable that the well-being of our business enterprises be re-established. They can neither invest nor offer new employment while their financial situation is precarious."

Concerning the two linked factors of export-import equilibrium and the stability of the franc, Mr. Barre commented:

"In strictly economic matters the principal problem today, the key to other problems, is that of current payments. France has practically no oil, and limited mineral resources. And for an entire century preceding the formation of the European Economic Community French industry and commerce had become accustomed to a protectionism that has now vanished."

"Yet with only 20 years of experience in open competition we now export a fifth of our national production, and our motorcar manufacturers even export over half. We are the world's fourth largest exporter."

"I need not repeat what the whole world knows, that quadrupling the cost of oil, and multiplying the costs of other necessary imports in even greater proportions, brought



Prime Minister Raymond Barre

about today's situation. The essential fact is that the results already obtained and the practical steps now being taken will lead, if we continue as at present, to the re-establishment of trade equilibrium in 1980," he said.

Mr. Barre explained that recent business prospecting tours of Andre Rosi, Minister for Exports, in Sweden and in the United States are merely steps toward an export drive.

"By direct approach to the actual heads of business who could export but don't, or who make only minor efforts, the 1,400 French businesses that now do 80 percent of our exports will be increased to several thousand, and the total of our exports in proportion."

"Consider the actual exchange rates," Mr. Barre said in speaking of the other essential factor, the franc. "Though it's true that from 1914 to 1958 the disastrous effects of two wars and several world economic crises led to repeated franc devaluations, just consider the performance of the franc since 1958, when the present regime was established. The 1958 rate was 4.937 francs for a dollar. Today's rate was 4.954, and this was not a rate set by any government, but the free rate on the exchange markets."

As to the much debated problem of whether the franc is being supported on the exchange markets by Euromoney loans in favor of French nationalized and private enterprises, and by foreign purchases of French property and businesses, Mr. Barre pointed out that the French state itself is not involved.

"We have not borrowed on foreign markets and we have not used our possible drawings on the International Monetary Fund," he pointed out. "French loans to foreign countries or firms to facilitate the purchase of French equipment have been so large that our foreign debt is not over \$3 billion, an unimportant amount in view of the fact that our present foreign exchange reserves total about \$18.8 billion."

To back his view that French export capabilities are stronger, Mr. Barre recalled that in 1952 well over 40 percent of all French exports still went to the "franc Zone," the former French empire. Today such exports form only 5 percent of the French total.

Many French public figures and commentators have voiced doubt that a professor of economics could understand the intricacies of French politics. Some have declared that Mr. Barre could not possibly lead the government fight against the Socialist-Communist front, a fight in which defeat would give France its 18th regime (ranging from absolute monarchy to uncontrolled revolution) since 1788.

This issue prompted three questions put to the Prime Minister: (1) Why has France changed regimes so often? (2) Why did the leftists win about two-thirds of French cities of more than 30,000 population in the recent municipal elections? (3) Who will win the crucial legislative elections of next March?

"The French temperament naturally tends to resist any established order, whatever it is," he said. "It tends to seek extreme solutions, and intellectually perfect plans rather than practical ones adapted to things as they are."

"It was to preserve France from the dangerous results of this tendency that the present system was devised by General de Gaulle. It is a regime of authority, durability, ensuring institutional stability while resting solidly on popular approval. It is the present government structure that justified the hope that the series of changes of regime is now at an end. The President holds the supreme authority and he appoints the government. Yet the government itself is responsible to Parliament for all that it does. And the Parliament is elected by the people of France," he pointed out.

And as to the elections of 1978: "The Socialist-Communist program will be refused."

"My fellow citizens may lack economic training," said Raymond Barre, "but they do not lack common sense."

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people/places/things

Guernica: a day remembered, a day forgotten

Guernica... an experimental horror.
Winston Churchill

By Jeffrey Robinson
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Guernica, Spain

Inaki Garay and his wife, Blanca, owned a stationery store not far from the new marketplace. They lived in a modern block of flats toward the south end of the city. They knew everyone, and everyone liked them. And everyone knew that Inaki liked to talk about the past, about his memories of the ugliest day in the town's history: April 26, 1937 — the day the German Condor Legion bombed Guernica.

Guernica lies in a quiet valley a few miles inland from the port of Bermeo. Nothing much happens in the town. There are shops, like the one Inaki and Blanca owned. There are apartment houses like the one where Inaki and Blanca lived. There are schools and garages and supermarkets and churches.

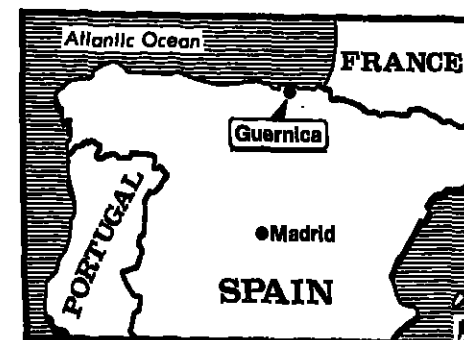
There are parking meters along the streets and oak trees everywhere — the oak tree being the symbol of the Basques' struggle for freedom. There are pelota matches and football matches and men who stand around barber shops talking about last week's match. There are people who remember the bombing, and people who say they would rather forget all about it.

"I was in my early teens," Mr. Garay recalled. "It was a Monday, a market day. Schools were closed and there was music in the streets. The Civil War had not been going well for the Basques, but the front had been stopped some miles from Guernica and for the first time in many weeks, there were very few uniforms in the city."

The weekly market attracted farmers from throughout Vizcaya province. "Sometime around 4:30 p.m. we all saw a plane coming from the sea. It was a German plane — a Heinkel III. It came in low and everyone watched it because we had no idea what a German plane would be doing there. Then it dropped a bomb."

It was strange. We were all confused. Nobody seemed to know what was happening.

"The plane swung around and made another low pass over the city, dropping another bomb. I think there might have been one more bomb before it went away. After a few minutes, the all-clear sounded. There was very little damage done, so everyone came back to the market. We gathered up the animals that had broken loose and stood there talking about what we had just seen."



Picasso's 'Guernica' (above) did not allow the world to forget the German bombing of the Basque town on April 26, 1937. Today the town hall (right) has been rebuilt, but old Civil War enemies amouder.

By a staff photographer

at all except to see how effective air power could be. It was a practice run for the Second World War. I lost some of my family in that attack. I could never forget it. I could never keep quiet about it."

Not everyone here feels the way Mr. Garay does. For years the Spanish Government insisted the attack never took place. Then it claimed the aircraft were Republican. Today it concedes that the planes might have been German but that the bombing took place without General Franco's knowledge.

"I don't know what happened," says a Spanish government official. "Tragedies are best forgotten." A woman whose husband was killed in the raid 40 years ago shakes her head. "I didn't see the planes. I don't know what markings they carried." An older resident of the city explains: "The bombing of Guernica is a taboo subject here, even now."

Another resident says, "There have been many books written, so there are many different versions of what happened. But if those books were published in Spain, they are lies."

A local priest simply says, "You must see Picasso's painting about Guernica. That's the way it was. It's all there." Mr. Garay says the only thing missing from Picasso's masterpiece "is the fact that there was no reason at all for the bombing. It was a totally senseless and cold-blooded act of murder."

Mr. Garay spoke French, and because he couldn't be as outspoken in Spain as he would have liked to be, he sometimes appeared on French television or gave his account of the bombing to French newspapers. The people in the Spanish government, who preferred that the subject not be discussed knew that he was talking about it all too freely.

Yesterday the city was quiet. There were memorial services to commemorate the anniversary of the attack. But there is tension in the Basque country, tension that is mounting because the Basque fight for freedom continues.

Even now that General Franco is gone, the government has not done much to encourage Basque freedoms. There is the Basque Language Academy — a nonpolitical confession that aims to save a nearly extinct language. And there is the Basque Museum House, now a museum for a nearly extinct culture.

But there is little else. And this year again, there is even less. Inaki and Blanca Garay are gone. For reasons that are still not perfectly clear, and are unlikely ever to be, the submarine-gun-toting Guardia Civil raided the Garay's apartment, before dawn on May 16, 1975. The guards smashed down the front door and within seconds, Inaki and Blanca were dead.

Zaire Pygmies: friends of the forest

By John A. Hart
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

In an age of ever more destructive warfare, recent reports from Zaire of Pygmy battalions holding Katangan rebels at bay with bows and arrows seemed distinctly ludicrous.

Pygmies still use bows and arrows, but their function is for hunting game in the forest, not for fighting wars. They are a cohesive group, but mutually disciplined they are not. Select a leader from a group of Pygmies, give him rank and authority, and he is likely to find himself without followers before too long.

The Pygmies' real concern is not fighting wars, but preserving their own simple and happy way of life, based on hunting and gathering in the forest, their original home. In the context of a modern world this has meant that they must be able to adapt to any situation that intrudes into their world — whether it be the appearance of the Zairian Army, or passing American tourists.

For as rebellious anything new to the Pygmies. During my field work among the Bambuti Pygmies, I learned that they had been drawn into the Surba rebellion of the late 1960s, which attempted to overthrow Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko's authority in the northwestern part of the country.

The reports of local agricultural tribes and government officials on their role were conflicting. The resident Pygmies were accounted for and for. After I got to know them myself, I discovered they had been neither rebels nor government allies. They had switched sides according to the demands made upon them and the quantities of food, tobacco, and cloth disbursed.

If Pygmies can be such fickle allies, why would anyone want them on their side in the first place? The answer to this, I believe, goes back into their mysterious history and the shrouded, legendary accounts of their first contacts with the outside world.

As far as they are concerned they only shrug their shoulders. As far as we are concerned they have always been in the forest, and it seems fair to assume that at one time they were distributed everywhere in the more humid, wooded zones of Central Africa.

In the past 1,000 years, however, various tribes of agricultural people expelled into the Pygmies' homeland. Many Pygmy groups must have been absorbed or lost in the process, but others survived to the present, and still maintain their own way of life.

Today, wherever agricultural tribes have established relationships with Pygmies, they seem to dismiss them as primitive forest people. But the Pygmies are more complicated. Spiritual and ritual ties to the forest are important to all African agricultural people, and those that have claimed that they have an almost supernatural kin-



Pygmy bowman; martially disciplined they are not

ship with the elements of nature and the spirits of the earth.

I saw that the Pygmies could capitalize on the other tribes' mystification of them, and if all Pygmies are like the Bambuti, then they are clever at making a good deal for themselves. If they can get garden produce or other raw materials in the process, they will let villagers believe what they want.

They will even go a step further and encourage the most outlandish misconceptions if these are immediately advantageous to them. Despite this, the Pygmies never really cooperate with outsiders. They are basically concerned with their own communal camp life in the forest.

Perhaps the sketchy reports of Pygmy warriors in Katanga will appear in different light when we know more about the Pygmies. The bowmen in question may have been "recruits," or conscripts.

At any rate the Katangan rebellion may be just one more facet of the Pygmies' continuing adaptation to the modern world.

John Hart, a graduate student in human geography, at the University of Minnesota, lived with Pygmies in Zaire from 1973 to 1975.

Bahamas: new law taxes foreign-owned property

By Nicki Kelly
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Nassau, Bahamas
A discriminatory property tax law introduced by the Bahamas Government now requires foreigners to declare their real estate investments throughout the islands or face a \$3,000 fine.

The government has denied, however, that nonresidents who failed to meet the March 31 deadline risk having their properties confiscated. "There is no intention whatever of seizing anyone's property or putting any developer out of business," says Revenue Secretary J. Ritzph Lowe.

Mr. Lowe admits nonetheless that the new legislation caught many by surprise. He says the government is prepared to be lenient, depending on the circumstances.

Under the law foreign investors and companies having more than 80 percent non-Bahamian ownership are taxable on both their developed and undeveloped property holdings, while Bahamians are taxed only for improved property in the capital island of New Providence.

The tax itself — 0.5 percent on the first \$20,000 of assessed value, 1

percent on the next \$30,000 and 1.5 percent on anything over \$50,000 — is one of the lowest in the world.

However, real estate brokers contend that the net effect will be to further depress resort development in the islands, as did a similar regulation that last year doubled the stamp tax for foreigners making property purchases.

Says Geoffrey Brown, a leading Nassau land broker: "These people invested in the Bahamas because they were told they wouldn't have to pay taxes. Now they feel they have been let down."

Even though expropriation is unlikely, Prime Minister Lynden Pindling's government is not happy that foreigners hold so much of the country's prime acreage without any prospect of development.

They bought, he says, "because the salesmen told them they could reap huge sums on resale."

Bahamian real estate, like that in the Caribbean and other resort areas, appreciated rapidly during the 1960s, fueled largely by speculative land buying in the outer islands.

American property developers who bought up large tracts cheaply from the local inhabitants, carved them into subdivisions for resale to thousands of Americans, Canadians, and Europeans hoping for a quick return on their investment.

Except for a few notable cases, little substantial development has resulted from these purchases.

Part of the problem, in addition to the market's general recession, is investor uncertainty over the restrictive immigration policies pursued since 1969 by Pindling's Progressive Liberal Party government.

In other instances promoters exploited loose land development regulations to evade responsibility for providing necessary utilities.

Although tougher requirements by the Pindling government have since eliminated such abuses, the investment for road improvement, power and water for these older subdivisions must now be met by the Bahamian taxpayer, Prime Minister Pindling points out.

He considers this unfair. "When we have put in the improvements in all these islands, then some fellow who bought a lot for \$3,000 come back, sells it for \$10,000, and takes the \$10,000 back with him," he says.

The government expects the tax on non-Bahamian owned property to produce at least \$1.25 million this year. It will also disclose for the first time just who owns property in the country.

Foreign exchange cross-rates

By reading across this table of last Tuesday's mid-day inter-bank foreign exchange rates, one can find the value of the major currencies in the national currencies of each of the following financial centers. These rates do not take into account bank service charges. (c) = commercial rate.

	U.S. Dollar	British Pound	French Franc	Swiss Franc	Belgian Franc	Dutch Guilder	Italian Lira	Spanish Peseta
New York	100	1.115	1.115	1.115	1.115	1.115	1.115	1.115
London	50.1	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Frankfurt	2.396	4.054	100	100	100	100	100	100
Paris	4.946	8.490	2.095	100	100	100	100	100
Amsterdam	2.467	4.241	1.814	100	100	100	100	100
Brussels	36.045	62.018	15.230	7.245	14.824	2.044	137.050	1.989
Zurich	2.463	4.222	1.837	100	100	100	100	100

The following are U.S. dollar values only: Argentine peso, 2027; Australian dollar, 1.062; Dutch florin, 1.666; Italian lire, 207.183; Japanese yen, 360.935; New Zealand dollar, 96.93; South African rand, 1.1618.

Source: First National Bank of Boston, Boston

'Bound for Glory': the Woody Guthrie story

Joan Didion's novel: three women in crisis

Cape Town: for scenery with a touch of luxury

General de Gaulle slept here — so can you

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Another group arrived in the company of a large gray parrot, in an old, striding wire cage. The parrot sat sulkily at the foot of the table during dinner, and bore with dignity the postprandial attempts of other guests to communicate with him, cooing, clucking, and gingerly sticking their fingers into his cage.

The Hostellerie is open March 1 to Oct. 1, and reservations are recommended. For information, write: Hostellerie de l'Abbaye de la Celle, Locella 83170 Brignolles, France.

When it comes to the voice of the
The most negative woman in
the 1980s, Roushler is de-
a small, single woman with both
have a stick and carrot) is
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science

How northern lights may boost price of Alaskan oil

By Judith Frutkin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The aurora borealis (northern lights) may be turning the nearly completed 800-mile trans-Alaska oil pipeline into the world's longest man-made conductor of electrical energy.

As a result, geophysicists are concerned that the electrical current from the lights may accelerate corrosion on the steel-lined pipe. This could present the Alyeska Pipeline Service Company, which is constructing the lines, with major, long-term maintenance problems that could drive up the price of Alaskan oil for consumers.

Across the night skies of the Alaskan Arctic Circle, the green-hued glow of the aurora borealis appears when outbursts of particles and magnetic energy from the sun interact with Earth's magnetic field.

Major auroral activity can disconnect telephone conversations, disrupt radio communications, cause major power blackouts in northern cities, and induce electrical currents in metal pipelines.

"Simple calculations, using the experience of many years measuring Earth currents induced in the ground by auroral activity," notes a report issued recently by the University of Alaska Geophysical Institute, "suggested to us that surges of up to 1,000 amps might be induced in the pipe."

"Such an effect would not be mere scientific curiosity. When current flows from the steel pipe to the ground, iron molecules may be removed... resulting in rapid corrosion."

But Alyeska engineers and company officials, currently fighting a court order that forces a long-delayed public hearing on cost

overruns on the pipeline, flatly deny this.

If that is correct, state pipeline coordinator Charles Champion says that the cathode system as it has been installed at these points will likely require frequent replacement of the wiring or complete overhauling.

The most recent pipeline tests were begun last February by Dr. Syun-ichi Akasofu, a professor of geophysics at the University of Alaska at Fairbanks, generally considered to be one of the world's leading authorities on the aurora borealis.

In a telephone interview with this newspaper, Dr. Akasofu said he has measured electrical currents along the pipeline of 200 amps—approximately twice the equivalent of the flow of current used by the average American household. And he detected specific places where the current enters the ground.

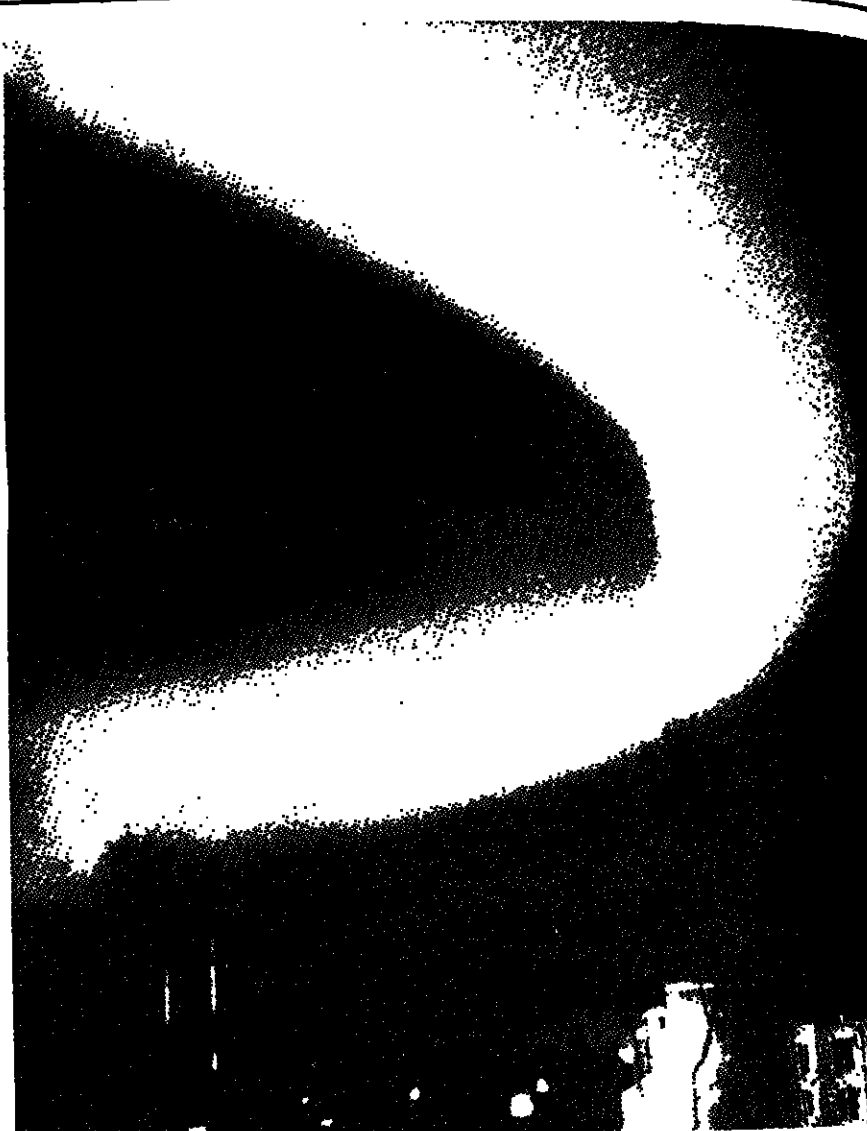
"The problem," he said, "isn't the flow along the line. Little heat is produced by it. I don't think it will produce sparks. The current has too little voltage to electrocute either a man or an animal."

"The problem is corrosion. The question is how serious this is."

When the pipeline was proposed in 1969, it carried an estimated price tag of \$800 million. It now is estimated by Alyeska to cost \$7.7 billion. Other estimates run as high as \$10 billion.

Cost overruns will bear directly on the amount of royalties collected by the State of Alaska for its North Slope oil. The reason: royalties are tied to the so-called "posted price" of oil at the pipeline terminus in Valdez.

The posted price will be determined roughly by the value of oil minus the pipeline costs. The higher the construction and maintenance costs, the lower the posted price.



Aurora borealis: beautiful, but could be damaging to oil pipeline

Gray seals in trouble

By Douglas Starr
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Muskeget Island, Massachusetts
Five and a half miles from Nantucket's western tip, this sandy mound hosts the only gray seal colony in the United States. Since giving birth, or "pupping," is one of the few times seals come ashore, scientists have been watching Muskeget's seals to learn more about, and determine how best to manage, the fragile population.

Seals breeding on Muskeget probably represent a "relic" population of much larger colonies. Widely hunted for fur and blubber, these colonies were depleted during the 18th and 19th centuries. Now only 10 to 20 gray seals inhabit the waters off Cape Cod.

This year has been particularly rough for the "marginally productive" population, according to University of Maine biologist James Gilbert. While past observations have been somewhat casual, observers generally see at least one newborn pup per year. "This year we haven't seen any," reports Dr. Gil-

bert. "The seals may have been disturbed by the rough water."

Although Muskeget is the only United States haven for grays, worldwide the species is not endangered. Scientists estimate the world gray seal population at 100,000, two-thirds of which live off the coast of Great Britain. The rest live along other northern shores, including Norway, Iceland, and Canada.

New England Aquarium Director Lou Garibaldi notes that while possible, it may not be a good idea to re-establish large New England seal colonies. Large groups of protected seals would become "too bold," he says, leading to "tugs of war" between fishermen and seals as the fish-eating mammals pursue the hunt right into fishermen's nets. Such incidents occur in Canadian waters, he notes.

He also theorizes that transplanting seals from the animals apparently prefer to breed in the same place year after year.

Pupping occurs in late January and early February when the seals boost themselves up onto the half-mile wide island and give birth to their white-wooled pups.



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education

Apprenticeship: young Americans in fathers' footsteps

By Guy Halverson

Washington

When A. J. Krebs, of Rapid City, South Dakota, talks about saws and planes, chisels, hammers and adzes, he speaks with authority.

Mr. Krebs is a carpenter, like his father and grandfather — in a long line of carpenters bound to stretch into the family's past in Germany, before their emigration to the United States in the 19th century.

Significantly, the Krebses learned their carpentry through the apprenticeship method, either directly from their relatives, or in the case of Mr. Krebs's own sons, through formal high school programs.

Apprenticeship, the predominant method for training young people in the dust-and-soot days of the industrial revolution, is again winning popularity as thousands of young people become interested in such trade or craft professions as bricklaying, shoe repair, electrical work, carpentry, and tool-and-die work.

According to U.S. Labor Department studies by the end of 1975 (the last year for which complete figures are available), 226,000 persons were formally enrolled in apprenticeship pro-

grams in the U.S. That is up from 57,000 in 1945 and 131,000 in 1946, when veterans returning from World War II enrolled in training programs linked to the GI Bill.

In fact, some 29 states and two territories, along with the District of Columbia, now have comprehensive apprenticeship programs. Meanwhile, the federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (a Labor Department agency) has a staff of 495 persons operating on a \$13 million budget with field offices scattered throughout the U.S.

Given zealous support from new Labor Secretary F. Ray Marshall, a nationally recognized scholar on apprenticeship, the federal agency is actively stepping up efforts to promote such programs in the U.S.

According to Nick Kolb, a top official with Labor's apprentice program, the "renewed interest" in apprenticeship stems in part from a feeling that a "skills" background, as opposed to more "generalist" liberal arts training, is the best step toward job security in the increasingly technological 1970s.

Nowhere is this perhaps better illustrated than among families of apprentice-training in-

dividuals, like the Krebses. According to Labor Department estimates, 18.5 percent of all people in apprentice programs are studying in the same field their parents work in.

Mr. Krebs, for example, can recall learning carpentry directly from his father. His own son Joe, who spent many hours watching his father work, took up a training program at Stevens High School, in Rapid City, and went on to win a silver medal in a 1974 carpentry contest. Now a younger son is also learning carpentry.

Whether his sons actually follow carpentry, Mr. Krebs argues that the training is invaluable for a young person. "There's a great feeling of satisfaction in seeing the results of your work right in front of you," he says.

According to an official of the California Division of Apprenticeship Standards, more and more young women are joining apprentice programs. Two years ago, he recalls, state officials

talked about having at least 300 women in the program (out of some 29,000 students). Now the number of women, the official notes, is almost 550, and "growing daily."

Federal and state officials say that they are particularly proud of rising pay scales for apprentices. Whereas the 19th-century apprentice was often pictured in such books as Dickens's "Oliver Twist" as raggedly attired, physically abused, and niggardly paid, today's apprentice often earns as much as 50 percent of journeyman pay rates in the first year of the training program, reaching 90 to 95 percent in the fourth year.

Most programs run four years. Meanwhile the Labor Department, with a special \$8 million funding (above the regular apprenticeship budget) is seeking to upgrade federal and state "partnerships" in apprentice programs.

Readers write

Asia's struggle to educate its children

I am a Malaysian student studying in the United Kingdom. The May 10 Monitor article "Asian struggles to educate 100 million children" takes its statistics from "Early Schooling in Asia." I would like to point out that these figures are out of date.

Here is a comparison between the "Early Schooling" figures of literates in Asia and those quoted by a United Nations publication.

"Early Schooling United Nations In Asia" figures		
	4 m.	4.2 m.
Hong Kong	546 m.	613.2 m.
India	108 m.	111.1 m.
Japan	31 m.	33.9 m.
South Korea	10 m.	12.1 m.
Malaysia	37 m.	44.1m.
Philippines	34 m.	42.1 m.
Thailand		

With special reference to Malaysia, I would like to point out that in Malaysia, nine years of education are available to all children in Ma-

laysia — six years of primary followed by three years of lower secondary. To support my view, here are some figures published in the Far Eastern Economic Review's Asia Yearbook 1976:

Population under 15 (Peninsular Malaysia, '73)		4,080,608
School places (Peninsular Malaysia, '72)		
Primary	1,500,152	
Secondary	595,578	
Tertiary	35,947	

Since Malaysia is still a developing country, I am not trying to claim that the percentage of literate is as high as it is in Japan. But I think it fair to say that the present literate rate is far higher than suggested in the Monitor article. I would be surprised if 40 newspapers currently published in Malaysia would be able to survive with only 22 percent of the population literate.

Cardiff, S. Wales G. T. Lob

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French/German

Le dilemme sud-africain

[Traduction d'un article paraissant à la page 30]

par Humphrey Tyler

Le vice-président des Etats-Unis, Walter Mondale, a donné au premier ministre de l'Afrique du Sud, M. Vorster, une arme puissante pour se défendre lui-même ainsi que son gouvernement — et avec laquelle battre en brèche les partis de l'opposition du Parlement sud-africain — en signifiant que les demandes américaines de « participation totale » au gouvernement de toutes les races équivalaient à « une voix par tête ».

La différence peut sembler ne pas être beaucoup plus que la politique de couper les cheveux en quatre, mais elle va au cœur même des différences d'approche de la politique fondamentale intérieure de l'Afrique du Sud.

D'une part, le gouvernement du Parti national soutient que l'homme blanc doit décider de sa propre destinée, coûte que coûte, et que toute forme de partage du pouvoir ou de prise de décisions conjointement avec les autres races (qui surpassent totalement en nombre les blancs dans la proportion d'environ 6 contre 1) conduirait inévitablement à la domination noire et à l'écrasement de tous les blancs.

En conséquence, « le gouvernement de la majorité noire » est devenu le croque-mitaine de la politique sud-africaine, et la crainte qu'en ont les blancs a conduit le Parti national au pouvoir de victoire en victoire.

Sous le système politique actuel de l'Afrique du Sud, « une voix par tête » porterait immédiatement au pouvoir la majorité noire et la « domination noire » que les blancs redoutent le plus.

Opposés au Parti national, les principaux partis de l'opposition se sont donné du mal pour essayer de convaincre l'électorat blanc que la domination politique actuelle du pays par les blancs est tout aussi injuste, tout aussi déraisonnable et à la longue tout aussi impraticable que la domination noire si généralement redoutée.

Et ils ont fait des progrès. D'une façon ou d'une autre, on accepte de plus en plus qu'une certaine forme de partage du pouvoir pourrait se produire — en opposition à une domination raciale des blancs sur les noirs ou des noirs sur les blancs.

Une espèce de plan fédéral, ou de plan confédéral, est considéré comme étant un moyen d'arriver à cela et plusieurs politiciens noirs influents ont pris part à des conférences multiraciales discutant et encourageant cette façon de penser.

L'un des « carottes » que les porte-parole de l'opposition ont utilisée pour intéresser les blancs à ce concept de partage du pouvoir, a été que si l'on menait à bien imparitalement le partage du pouvoir, alors l'Afrique du Sud serait de nouveau acceptée par l'Occident — au grand soulagement du pays.

Il semblerait que M. Mondale ait réalisé tout cela quand, avant sa rencontre avec M. Vorster à Vienne, il a soigneusement ajusté ses propositions pour que le gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud comporte la « participation totale » de toutes les races (quelque chose qui a déjà un assez grand nombre de partisans en Afrique du Sud) en opposition à « une voix par tête ».

Les politiciens et les commentateurs d'Afrique du Sud ont vu cela comme une compréhension de l'actuel dilemme blanc d'Afrique du Sud : la prise de conscience croissante du besoin croissant de partager le pouvoir, d'une part, et la crainte de la domination, d'autre part.

Mais, quand à la fin des conversations, M. Mondale a dit que la participation totale était exactement la même chose qu'« une voix par tête » en termes d'Afrique du Sud, il disait simplement aux blancs qu'ils devaient abdiquer.

M. Vorster et le ministre des Affaires étrangères d'Afrique du Sud, P. Botha, utilisent maintenant cela pour justifier la position du gouvernement à Vienne et aussi pour ridiculiser les partis de l'opposition qui prétendent que leur politique de partage du pouvoir gagnerait le soutien de l'Occident.

Lors d'un débat parlementaire, M. Vorster s'est attiré les critiques de l'opposition sur sa façon de conduire les conversations de Vienne, et les allégations de Colin Eglin,

le chef du Progressive Reform Party, que la politique du gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud est « invendable » à l'étranger. Il a contré en disant que la remarque de M. Mondale signifiait que la politique de tous les partis de l'opposition serait également « invendable » et inacceptable pour l'Occident parce que l'Amérique ne voulait rien de moins qu'« une voix par tête ».

Néanmoins, l'effervescence en Afrique du Sud à la suite des conversations de Vienne et de la visite d'Andrew Young, l'ambassadeur des Etats-Unis aux Nations Unies, n'est certainement pas calmée.

Plusieurs députés de l'opposition, par exemple, qualifient maintenant de « ligne de partage critique » les suggestions récentes de deux membres du Cabinet ministériel préconisant qu'une sorte de confédération du genre « Suisse » soit étudiée pour partager le pouvoir politique en Afrique du Sud, bien que la suggestion ait été reçue — apparemment pour des raisons tactiques — assez froidement par M. Vorster.

Et il est clair que M. Vorster lui-même aimerait continuer une sorte de dialogue avec les Etats-Unis — et plus il serait amical mieux cela vaudrait — en excluant ce qu'il considère comme « l'abdication de l'homme blanc ».

M. Tyler est un editorialiste du journal sud-africain Cape Argus.

Südafrikanisches Dilemma

[Dieser Artikel erscheint in englischer Sprache auf Seite 30.]

Von Humphrey Tyler

Kapstadt

Der Vizepräsident der Vereinigten Staaten, Walter Mondale, hat dem südafrikanischen Ministerpräsidenten Vorster eine außerordentlich scharfe Waffe in die Hand gegeben, mit der er sich selbst und seine Regierung verteidigen kann — eine Waffe, mit der er die Oppositionsparteien im südafrikanischen Parlament plagen kann — in dem er die amerikanische Forderung auf „volle Beteiligung“ aller Rassen an der

Regierung mit der Parole „ein Mann, eine Stimme“ gleichsetzt.

Dies mag wie politische Haarspalterei aussehen, aber es trifft den Kern der grundsätzlichen unterschiedlichen Auffassungen in Bezug auf Südafrikas Innenpolitik.

Auf der einen Seite behauptet die von der Nationalpartei gestellte Regierung, daß der weiße Mann unter allen Umständen sein Schicksal selbst bestimmen müsse und daß jegliche Form einer Beteiligung der anderen Rassen an der Regierung (ihre Zahl

steht zu der der Weißen im Verhältnis sechs zu eins) oder jegliches Mitbestimmungsrecht unweigerlich zur Vorherrschaft der Schwarzen und zur Unterdrückung aller Weißen führen werde.

Infolgedessen ist die „Vorherrschaft der schwarzen Mehrheit“ zum Schreckgespenst der südafrikanischen Politik geworden, und die diesbezüglichen Befürchtungen der Weißen haben der regierenden Nationalpartei zu einem Sieg nach dem anderen verholfen.

Unter dem gegenwärtigen politischen System in Südafrika würde „ein Mann, eine Stimme“ die schwarze Mehrheit unmittelbar ans Ruder bringen und die von den Weißen über alles gefürchtete „schwarze Vorherrschaft“ herbeiführen.

Im Gegensatz zur Nationalpartei waren die wichtigsten Oppositionsparteien bemüht, die weißen Wähler davon zu überzeugen, daß die derzeitige Vorherrschaft der Weißen politisch ebenso ungerecht, ebenso unannehmbar und letzten Endes ebenso undurchführbar sei wie die allgemein gefürchtete schwarze Vorherrschaft.

Und die Opposition hat dabei Fortschritte gemacht. Es wird immer mehr anerkannt, daß eine Beteiligung an der Regierung in der einen oder anderen Form — im Gegensatz zur Herrschaft der Weißen über die Schwarzen oder umgekehrt — verwirklicht werden könne.

Eine Föderation oder Konföderation wird als eine Möglichkeit angesehen, dieses Ziel zu erreichen, und mehrere führende schwarze Politiker haben sich an Konferenzen beteiligt, die von Weißen und Schwarzen gemeinsam veranstaltet wurden, um diese Gedankengänge zu erörtern und zu fördern.

Eines der Mittel, mit dem Sprecher der Opposition das Interesse der Weißen für den Gedanken der Beteiligung anderer Rassen an der Regierung zu wecken suchten, ist, daß Südafrika — zu seiner großen Erleichterung — wieder die Gunst des Westens erwerben würde, wenn eine befriedigende Lösung gefunden wird.

Es sieht so aus, als hätte Mondale all dies erkannt, denn noch vor seiner Begegnung mit Vorster in Wien hatte er seine Empfehlungen an die südafrikanische Regierung bewußt abgewandelt, nämlich „volle Beteiligung“ aller Rassen an der Regierung (ein Gedanke, der bereits in weiten Kreisen Südafrikas Unterstützung findet) im Gegensatz zu der These „ein Mann, eine Stimme“.

Südafrikanische Politiker und Kommentatoren erblickten darin ein Verständnis für

das Dilemma, in dem sich die Weißen in Südafrika zur Zeit befinden: einerseits die wachsende Erkenntnis, daß eine Beteiligung der Schwarzen an der Regierung immer notwendiger wird, und andererseits die Furcht vor einer schwarzen Vorherrschaft.

Als jedoch Mondale am Ende der Gespräche erklärte, daß „volle Beteiligung“ an der Regierung und „ein Mann, eine Stimme“ ein und dasselbe sei, sagte er den Weißen ganz einfach (aus südafrikanischer Perspektive gesehen), daß sie abdanken müßten.

Ministerpräsident Vorster und Südafrikas Außenminister P. Botha benutzen jetzt diese Erklärung, um den in Wien vertretenen Standpunkt ihrer Regierung zu rechtfertigen und die Behauptung der Oppositionsparteien, die Politik der Mitbeteiligung werde im Westen Unterstützung finden, ins Lächerliche zu ziehen.

In einer Parlamentsdebatte wurde Vorster von der Opposition für seine Haltung bei den Gesprächen in Wien kritisiert, und der Chef der Progressiven Reformpartei, Colin Eglin, erklärte, daß sich die Politik der südafrikanischen Regierung nicht im Ausland „verkaufen“ lasse. Vorster entgegnete, Mondales Bemerkung bedeute, daß all die politischen Auffassungen der Oppositionsparteien im Westen ebenso „unverkäuflich“ und unannehmbar seien, wie Amerika nichts weniger als „ein Mann, eine Stimme“ wolle.

Der durch die Wiener Gespräche und den Besuch Andrew Youngs, des amerikanischen Botschafters bei den Vereinten Nationen, ausgelöste Gärungsprozess ist keineswegs zu Ende.

So bezeichnen z. B. mehrere Abgeordnete der Opposition jüngste Hinweise zweier Kabinettsmitglieder, daß irgendeine Konföderation nach Schweizer Vorbild geschaffen werden könnte, um eine politische Mitbeteiligung in Südafrika zu verwirklichen, als den springenden Punkt, selbst wenn diese Andeutungen von Vorster — wahrscheinlich aus taktischen Gründen — kühl aufgenommen wurden.

Und Vorster selbst möchte offensichtlich gern den Dialog mit den Vereinten Staaten in der einen oder anderen Form fortsetzen — je freundlicher, desto besser, und zwar über alle Themen, nur nicht über das, was, wie er es sieht, einer „Abdankung der weißen Männer“ gleichkommt.

Humphrey Tyler schreibt Leitartikel für die südafrikanische Zeitung „Cape Argus“.



„Des expédients“ face à la montée de la « rain » dans le monde. „Notbehelfe“ und zunehmender „Wellenung“.

French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum
(Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine)

Ne plus faire figure de perdant

maladie et au péché. Le sens accru de l'intégralité de l'homme en tant qu'image de Dieu peut remplacer victorieusement ces images illusoires.

Mary Baker Eddy, qui a découvert et fondé la Science Chrétienne, écrit : « L'homme n'est pas fait pour labourer la terre. Son droit d'homme est la domination, non l'assujettissement. »

Par ailleurs, au sens humain, gagner n'est pas toujours juste. Cela peut nous libérer, en apportant une expression d'affranchissement et d'excellence, mais cela peut aussi nous subjuger en faisant naître des sentiments d'arrogance et de supériorité. Des qualités telles que la grâce, la capacité, l'expertise, le dévouement, l'a-propos, l'équilibre, la précision, le travail d'équipe et la performance expriment une mesure de la nature supérieure de l'homme en tant qu'image illimitée de Dieu. Gagnant ou perdant, ces choses trouvent un écho dans nos propres aspirations plus élevées et souvent nous nous apercevons que nous admirons les personnes et

les groupes de gens qui expriment de telles qualités.

Gagner n'est pas non plus toujours une fin en soi. Gagner implique aussi parfois un sens mental, émotionnel et physique de destruction ou d'intimidation. Même la presse sportive utilise des termes comme « anéantir », « humilier », « écraser », « mettre en pièces », « démolir », « détruire ». Un tel sens de victoire n'exprime rien de la véritable nature de l'homme ni d'une victoire désirable.

Dans ma jeunesse, je me suis senti de plus en plus hésitant à gagner, comprenant que je participais à la création d'une hiérarchie mineure de « gagnants » ayant comme contrepartie les dénommés « perdants » auxquels s'attachait souvent la marque de la croyance invétérée à une stature et à une dignité invétérée, mais quand j'ai cessé de m'efforcer de gagner, je me suis identifié aux perdants et c'était encore moins satisfaisant. J'ai alors recherché et trouvé un sens de victoire plus élevé ou plus spirituel.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

Das Image eines Verlierers ablegen

Wir hören manchmal, daß eine Sportmannschaft „Ihr Image eines Verlierers ablegt“. Weder eine Mannschaft noch ein einzelner Sportler kann bei einem solchen Image gute Leistungen erzielen. Früher einmal glaubte ich, daß die Menschen immer entweder als Gewinner oder als Verlierer eingestuft würden; und zwar beruhte diese Vorstellung auf der Annahme, daß jene Merkmale ein integraler Bestandteil ihrer Identität seien.

Ich lerne jedoch in der Christlichen Wissenschaft, daß der Mensch jedes rein menschliche Bild ablegen kann, indem er seine wahre Identität als das Ebenbild Gottes akzeptiert. Paulus gibt uns einen guten Anhaltspunkt für unsere wirkliche Identität, wenn er sagt: „In ihm [Gott] leben, weben und sind wir.“

Die Christliche Wissenschaft bekennt sich zu der biblischen Lehre, daß der Mensch als die geistige Widerspiegelung Gottes, des göttlichen Geistes, der wahre Mensch ist, rein und vollständig. Dem steht die materielle Existenz gegenüber, die Illusion, daß das Leben, das Gemüt und der Mensch von Gott getrennt seien. Wenn wir uns unseres höheren Menschentums mehr bewußt werden, wird sich diese materielle Vorstellung ändern und schließlich verschwinden. Somit können wir jedes falsche Image ablegen, wenn uns klar wird, was das wahre Bild ausmacht.

Wenn wir, menschlich gesehen, zu verlieren pflegen, so kann dies geheilt werden. Das gleiche gilt, wenn wir der Krankheit und Sünde „unterliegen“. Diese illusionären Bilder können erfolgreich durch einen besseren Begriff von der Voll-

ständigkeit des Menschen als Gottes Ebenbild ersetzt werden.

Mary Baker Eddy, die die Christliche Wissenschaft entdeckte und gründete, schreibt: „Der Mensch ist nicht dazu geschaffen, den Acker zu bebauen. Herrschaft ist sein Geburtsrecht, nicht Unterwerfung.“

Menschlich gesehen, ist es nicht immer gut zu gewinnen. Es kann befriedend wirken und ein Beweis für ausgezeichnete Leistungen sein; es kann aber auch unterjochen, indem es Elemente wie Arroganz und Überheblichkeit mit sich bringt. Eigenschaften wie Armut und Begabung, Geschicklichkeit, Hingabe, zeitliches Koordinationsvermögen, Gleichmut, Genußigkeit, Teamarbeit, gute Ausführung bringen etwas von der höheren Natur des Menschen als Gottes unbegrenztes Ebenbild ans Licht. Ob wir nun gewinnen oder verlieren, diese Eigenschaften finden in unserem eigenen höheren Streben Widerhall, und wir bewundern oft einzelne Menschen und Gruppen, die solche Eigenschaften bekunden.

Ein Sieg ist auch nicht immer das Ende einer Geschichte. Manchmal sind mentale, emotionale oder physische Zerstörungswut oder Einschüchterung damit verbunden. Sogar die Sportpresse benutzt Ausdrücke wie „auslöschen“, „erdrosseln“, „zu Fall bringen“, „ruinieren“, „demütigen“, „zerstören“. Ein derartiger Sieg drückt nichts von der wahren Natur des Menschen aus noch von dem Gewinn, das wissenschaftlich ist.

In meiner Jugend wollte ich immer schneller gewinnen, denn ich stellte fest, daß

En l'Esprit, ou Dieu, l'homme est déjà dans sa plénitude. Cette prise de conscience assujettit le sens erroné de la nature de l'homme et nous permet d'exprimer notre véritable nature — l'homme que Dieu maintient et aime totalement. Voilà, dans son sens le plus vaste et le plus noble, ce qu'est la victoire, le gain. Et nous pouvons apprendre que cela est vrai non seulement pour nous-même mais pour les autres aussi. Il ne peut donc y avoir qu'une liberté accrue et un meilleur concept de domination pour tous.

* Actes 17:28; * Science et Santé avec la Clef des Ecritures, p. 517.

* Christian Science (Christliche Wissenschaft)

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Rowboats, Central Park, New York City

By a staff photographer

On one hand . . .

I have always had a slightly ambivalent feeling towards exhibitions, especially exhibitions of pictures. I look forward to going with eager expectancy but the moment I enter and am confronted by those walls and endless chambers smothered with shapes and colors demanding attention I feel quite exhausted and after 10 minutes am searching for somewhere to sit. Then there are the catalogs. I am amazed at the tortuous effort that must have gone into putting together all those words in such a way that it is impossible to find any meaning. Such a generalization makes me guilty of oversimplified exaggeration, but there was at least one occasion when a friend and I dutifully sat and read through part of a weighty catalog which utterly mystified us both almost to the point of hysteria.

On consideration I find that often I don't actually enjoy the exhibition while I am there. The responsibility is too demanding and insistent. I haven't acquired the discipline that will enable me to look at one room, or even one picture, and then leave. A grim determination takes possession as I trudge from room to room. Where has that eager expectancy vanished to? Why do I continue to feel the need and urge to go and look at paintings when it appears to be such an ordeal? The answer lies in the third stage of this process: in the recollection and uncluttered, relaxed focusing on the one or two pictures that pierced through and lie established in the heart of memory so that they can become known. Most exhibitions contain such pictures and they are the reason for the expectancy before the visit and the wholeness of satisfaction and sense of having done something worthwhile that remain afterwards. For I am one of those visually untutored people who really needs to have a picture at home where it can be constantly viewed over a long period. When that is not possible, the inner sorting out process takes over and I find the multiplicity is reduced to a single focusing that encompasses the whole activity with memorable enjoyment.

The visual form of expression is a source of wonder and mystery to me and I have discovered that what I value most is the sense of release which certain pictures bring. Release from the restrictions of known dimensions, release into a space of balanced calm, to a newness of thought, an airiness that probes and soars.

This recognition came after I had acquired a water colour of Roman hyacinths. The artist referred to it in a letter as telling "the story of the flowers on earth and in heaven." For several years and through several crises I have looked at that picture. It hangs by my desk, on the wall facing the chair where I do most of my sitting. But it was only a few months ago I realized what the essence of this picture was for me. In telling the story, the painter has indicated with gossamer touch the freedom of those flowers, so that what they are is not restricted by the necessity of earth. At the bottom of the picture a cluster of flowers rests upon and springs from a lucent blue that perhaps represents the earth. But it is an earth so fresh and light that there is no anomaly in the other flowers floating above. When I first saw this picture there was an immediate response. Did I unwittingly catch the value of what it contained? Then I have been abundantly rewarded: for there are days that bring with the indescribable wonder and blessing of this freedom.

I realize, too, that those other pictures that have meant so much during certain phases and that now hold within themselves the tender memory, also brought release. Do I now have a wider comprehension of what art can instill, and a broader glimpse of what the artist is doing? To analyze more precisely in words why these pictures are a source of release would only limit the extent and power of this feeling. All I can say at the moment is that they push me beyond the known extent of expression: that they indicate a new intuitive insight.

Susan Morrison



'Connoisseurs' 1858: Charcoal drawing by Daumier

The Cleveland Museum of Art

All is sign

This possibility of CHOICE is what I call liberty. Our life does not follow one road, but is at every moment at a crossroads where we must choose. We are a long way from "fate" as Sophocles saw it. And so, up to a point, we can steer our Destiny. We partly make our Destiny and are responsible for it.

This is why, in spite of the opinion of the greatest thinkers, I am stubborn in my love of liberty. It is also why I am on the lookout for the unexpected. I have a passion for observing chance.

It is, lastly, why I have often come to attach interest to something or other that ap-

parently was not worthwhile, wondering whether there might not be, underneath, some little spark that would be quite useless for other people but, for me, a revelation. All is sign. But one can only make a sign to someone else. If one is significant, it is for another person. To be, one must be two. And for these two to communicate by signs, both of them must open themselves.

Jean-Louis Barrault

From "Memories for Tomorrow," ©1974, E. F. Dutton & Co., Inc.

. . . but on the other hand

I don't think of the odds stacked against that superfluous item of cultural driftwood from the 19th century, the museum or art gallery. How on earth have these pillars of monuments withstood the competitive onslaught of 20th-century technological "media"? That institution could possibly be less "commercially viable"? What could possibly score to it a less inviting heap of flotsam and jetsam from the best-forgotten past? What building could possibly foster more obscurely lusty goings-on, more escape from reality, more burrowing in documents, more minutely unnecessary restorations, more mountainous scholarly opinions about more universally insignificant questions?

Are there ever a concept less like a pop concert or a football match or a protest demonstration or an election campaign — in a word, less appealing to crowds of people — than a museum?

And yet there are few places, it seems, in which, less crammed with an eager populace, it is now commonplace in London, for example, for exhibitions — even quite special ones like Michelangelo's drawings at the British Museum a while back — to have their fair prolonged because of their popularity; when hours wait in a round-the-block queue for a painting to be hastily shuffled past an array of measures from a pyramid of or an ant-hill of knick-knacks dug out of volcanic ash are never less taken for granted. These special exhibitions attract special audiences, of course, and on a weekday at the National Gallery or the Victoria and Albert Museum can have the same Waterloo Station about it.

It seems that few people are put off by the prospect of actually catching a glimpse of the real thing between the shoulders of all comers. It is this astonishing thirst for the "real thing" quenched in any apparent way by the ready availability of books swollen by color reproductions, color television, and even the most elaborate of the pre-Columbian period, or even the delightful gush of the new art-tour guide.

Which one can deduce what?

It must be that art galleries offer some-

thing which simply cannot be experienced elsewhere. A comprehensive book about Goya can make it possible to see most of his works in swift succession and easy comfort — more works than are ever, with problems of cost and conservation, likely to be gathered in a single show. So the bringing together of an artist's dispersed works is not per se the reason why people frequent exhibitions. A film, though admittedly not permitting the viewer to dwell on a work at his own pace, does allow an unobstructed concentration on a painting or sculpture (rather like listening to music with headphones) impossible in a museum unless it's empty. So why bother to go through the agonies of attending an exhibition?

Part of the reason must be a strong wish to have a firsthand encounter. It's strange that the more effective and accurate and thorough the media have become, the more we yearn for direct experience rather than reproduced, secondhand experience. All the same, isn't it true that a painting or sculpture is also "media," also experience removed from experience?

The cynic might conclude that people go to museums, and specially to special exhibitions, for the same reason they go to the beach: to see other people in a pleasant environment. Personally I enjoy exhibitions more than beaches, so I'm inclined to be less cynical about them. But I do think there is an element of gregariousness involved. This is something not generally appreciated by artists who are loners and think of the work of art as a singular affair, an interaction between a lonely object and a lonely viewer, a kind of private peepshow.

My theory is that people go to museums because of an enormously healthy, if scarcely overt, instinct for sharing. Aware of inward-facing isolationisms (which can even reduce to a question of personal, mind-your-own-business decisionmaking) but also conscious of the dangerous, opposite extreme of mass-mindedness, could it be that we find in a museum one place where a neat balance is maintained, where private response and public atmosphere are about equally weighed?

Christopher Andreas

The lesson

There are some things I don't mention
But I still want you to know —

Like the silence in the symbol?
Like the yearning in the snow?

Like the pastel of your whisper?
Like your smiling in the dark?
Like your shadow on my Bible?
Like our eyes' soft morning talk?

Like emerald and magenta,
Like our racing down the sand;
Like the winter in my waiting;
Like the hunger in the wind . . .

Like the thrill of painless childbirth;
Like the beauty in men's tears;
Like the healing in forgiving;
Like the cry of metaphors.

There are some things I don't mention
No, it's right for us to yearn:
Woman's strength is more than waiting

And man's grace — perhaps to learn.

Godfrey John

The Monitor's religious article

Shed the loser's image

Sometimes we hear of a sports team "shedding its loser's image." No team or individual can perform well with such a self-image. At one point in my life it seemed that people were classified as unchangeable winners or losers, based on the idea that these characteristics were integral to their identities.

But I learned in Christian Science that man can shed any merely human image by accepting his true identity as the image of God. Saint Paul gives us a good clue to our real identity when he says, "In him [God] we live, and move, and have our being."

Christian Science follows the scriptural teaching that man, as the spiritual reflection of God, divine Spirit, is the true man — pure and complete. Opposed to this is material existence — the illusion of life, mind, and man apart from God. As we realize more fully our higher manhood, this material sense changes and finally disappears. Thus we can "shed" any false image as we realize what comprises the true image.

In the human sense "losing" as a consistent habit, can be healed. So can "losing" to sickness and sin. These illusory images can be victoriously replaced by a progressive sense of man's completeness as God's image.

Mary Baker Eddy, who discovered and founded Christian Science, writes: "Man is not made to till the soil. His birthright is dominion, not subjection."*

Again, in the human sense, winning is not always right. It can liberate, expressing freedom and excellence, but it can also subjugate, bringing forth elements of arrogance and superiority. Qualities such as grace and capability, expertness, dedication, timing, balance, accuracy, teamwork, execution, express something of the higher nature of man as God's unlimited image. Win or lose, these strike chords of response in our own higher aspirations, and we often find ourselves admiring individuals and groups expressing such qualities.

Winning isn't always the end of the story, either. Mental, emotional, and physical destructiveness or intimidation are sometimes associated with winning. Even the sports press uses terms such as "annihilate," "crush," "wreck," "ruin," "humiliate," "destroy." This sense of winning expresses nothing of the real nature of man or of winning that is desirable.

In my youth I found myself progressively hesitating to win, because I could see I was participating in the creation of a minor hierarchy of "winners" that had its equation of opposites, called "losers," often stamped with a deeply ingrained belief of lesser status.

BIBLE VERSE

Blessed be the Lord, because he hath heard the voice of my supplications.

Psalm 138:6

Ad in the London Times

For sale: one plum tree, flowering
And fair and quite unmatched
In loveliness! We'll also sell
The garden that's attached.
And, yes, the house. It's very large.
It boasts a dozen rooms.
We doubt you'll stay in any, though.
Each time the plum tree blooms.

Maureen Corman

ure and less worthiness. But when I stopped trying to win, I identified with the losers, and this was even less satisfying. So I sought and found a higher, or more spiritual, sense of winning.

In Spirit, or God, man is already complete. This realization brings the false sense of manhood into subjection and helps us to express our true nature — man, completely loved and maintained by God. This is victory, or winning, in its largest and grandest sense. And we can learn this to be true not only for ourselves but for others as well. Thus there can only be an increase in freedom and a better concept of dominion for all.

*Acts 17:28; **Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, pp. 517-518.

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OPINION AND...

Joseph C. Harsch

Carter's new world

President Carter's speech on foreign policy which he made at the Notre Dame commencement on May 22 has not had much attention. It deserves more, not because of any startling new departures outlined for American foreign policy, but rather because it identifies the essential difference between the world of his predecessors in the White House and the world in which he will be making some of the major decisions.

The difference automatically causes changes in policy and probably will cause more. To understand the difference will be to foresee probable directions.

Mr. Carter identifies the old world behind us as one in which the United States sought to contain Soviet expansion by an "almost exclusive alliance among noncommunist nations." It involved "an inordinate fear of communism which led us to embrace any dictator who joined us in our fear." It also led the United States into 18 years of presumably implacable and unbridgeable hostility with mainland China, thus depriving the United States of the advantage it has recently derived from allowing natural rivalries to develop between China and the Soviet Union.

In that old black and white world in which being communist or anticommunist was the only important qualification for American hostility or American aid there was little room for human rights. A country or government or dictator had merely to present anticommunist credentials to get American help. Violation of civil rights was immaterial. The old world was like that.

Things are different now. Mr. Carter did not cause the difference. The biggest single cause of change was Richard Nixon's trip to Peking and the reopening of communication between the United States and the government of mainland China. But the important thing is whether the new President grasps the difference and intends to operate within the new dimensions. Mr. Carter's speech shows that he does grasp the meaning of the change which came out gradually during the late Nixon and the Ford years.

The difference shows up most clearly in Mr. Carter's statement that "we see the American-Chinese relationship as a central element of our global policy and China as a key force for global peace." That was impossible in the old world of the Vietnam war era. China is

communist. How could a communist country become a central element in American foreign policy? It would have been impossible in the Kennedy, Johnson, and early Nixon era. It is a "central feature" of American foreign policy today.

The difference shows up also in the new emphasis on human rights. They did not matter much in the old black and white world. They can begin to matter again now. Allies violated human rights without protest from Washington so long as they were anticommunist.

It shows up again in attitude toward third-world countries. In the old days they did not count. They were not anticommunist, therefore they were simply dismissed as persons and places irrelevant to the great central issue of communism versus anticommunism. Now they matter. Mr. Carter cares about the suppliers of raw materials who have always declined to take ideological sides. He talks about reaching out to the developing nations "to alleviate suffering and to reduce the chasm between the world's rich and poor."

It shows up prominently in the change of attitude toward the whites of southern Africa. In

the old world the whites south of the equator were anticommunist. South Africa was a favored friend and ally. The United States did nothing to help bring about the transfer of power to the black majority. Mr. Carter today says "the time has now come for the principle of majority rule to be the basis for political order" and he adds "to be peaceful, the change must come promptly."

Does the change affect policy toward Israel? Yes, in one respect. Mr. Carter is the first President who ever said that there must also be a "homeland for the Palestinians." Concern for the security of Israel is not less, but concern for the welfare of the Palestinian refugees has been added to the American formula. And there is special emphasis placed on the need for quick action toward "a genuine settlement" under UN Resolutions 242 and 338. These call for restoration of lost territories to the Arabs.

The era of the Truman doctrine and its emphasis on anticommunism ran out sometime during the Nixon presidency. Mr. Carter is moving out into a new world with new problems and new priorities. The journey will be interesting.

George Willig's cheerful climb

Melvin Maddocks

It was not a good week. Dutch schoolchildren, being held hostage. Korea, ominously back in the news. Headlines read: "Egypt sees war if Carter fails on Mideast settlement." The Dow Jones continued to slip.

The 50th anniversary of Charles Lindbergh's flight was duly celebrated and thoroughly commented upon. But it seemed to end on the banal, depressing question: In a shaky, troubled world, where are all the heroes now that we need them? 1927 appeared a millennium of innocence away.

Then, one morning, a small figure — definitely not King Kong — was sighted climbing the 110-story, 1,350-foot World Trade Center in New York. And for reasons explicable only to Aristotle or perhaps Charlie Chaplin, the world looked just a little more livable — a place where a few people could still make foolish, blithe gestures and the rest of the people could watch.

George Willig, the 27-year-old toy designer from Queens, is no Lindbergh. But in a universe that tends to see itself fatalistically these days, at the mercy of computers and nuclear reactors and black holes, the Willig ascent made its venturesome point. The toy designer turned the biggest building in the biggest city into a plaything, and for 3½ hours everybody went on an unscheduled holiday.

New York policemen on window cleaners' scaffolding refused to behave like New York policemen; they requested Willig's autograph. For a brief moment, the City

of New York threatened to act as a serious, nearly bankrupt city is supposed to act, promising to sue George Willig for \$250,000. But then it settled for a penny a floor, or a fine of \$1.10, plus a sermon or two against stunting. "George has indicated his desire and willingness to discourage any rash of similar acts," Mayor Abraham Beame announced.

Justice had been done all around to something called human nature.

In one of his surreal little short stories, Donald Barthelme imagines a glass mountain in New York, on the corner of 13th Street and 8th Avenue. His anti-hero climbs the mountain by using the suction cup of a plumber's helper. "To climb the glass mountain," Barthelme writes, "one first requires a good reason."

What was George Willig's reason? He more or less gave the standard mountain-man's answer: I climbed it because it was there.

One doesn't always want to go too deep (or too high) into climbing. One can get dizzy by asserting that to climb is somehow to build — the climber authors his own tower or at least his ladder as he goes. He is a mystical architect of the vertical. And so on.

If all that does not become confusing enough, one can speculate endlessly on the climber's relationship to the world below. Does he want to leave it? Or is he trying by a particularly inventive route to find it, in a sense that the non-climber who stays there never does?

Is climbing, finally, a sort of religious ritual or the ultimate swager of egotism?

In the end, climbing has too much significance to handle, and one winds up backing off into paradoxes, like Barthelme. On the whys of climbing he concludes: "There are not good reasons. . . . But good reasons exist."

In the end, the climber and his audience conspire to agree upon their "story." What both Willig and New York needed was an uplifting story — no pun intended. A slightly sentimental fairy tale rather than a parable.

One gets the legends one requires.

And so, by a kind of collaboration, the Willig ascent was declared to be a springtime lark, a comedy rather than a tragedy, something exuberant out of Buster Keaton rather than something profound out of Ibsen.

The climber was certainly not a "psycho." He was not even a "publicity seeker." He was, we have all decreed, a nice young man on a flying trapeze, doing a sky-dance for springtime '77. Soon he will become a gesture rather than a name. We will remember, as usual, what we need to remember. It was, we will repeat to our grandchildren, a cheerful climb.

South African dilemma

By Humphrey Tyler

Cape Town
United States Vice-President Walter Mondale has given South African Prime Minister Vorster a most powerful weapon with which to defend himself and his government — and one with which to belabor the opposition parties in the South African Parliament — by equating American demands for "full participation" in government by all races with "one man, one vote."

The difference might seem like political hair splitting, but it goes to the heart of the basic differences of approach to South African politics internally.

On the one side, the National Party government has maintained that the white man must decide his own destiny, never mind what, and that any form of power-sharing or joint decision-making with the other races (who outnumber the whites altogether about 3-1) would lead inevitably to black domination and the "ploughing under" of all the whites.

Consequently, "black majority rule" has become the bogeyman of South African politics, and white fears of this have led to win after win for the ruling National Party.

Under the present South African political system, "one man, one vote" would bring

black majority rule about immediately and the "black domination" that the whites fear most.

As opposed to the National Party, the main opposition parties have been toiling to try to convince the white electorate that the present white domination of the country politically is quite as unjust, quite as unreasonable and in the long term just as unworkable as the widely feared black domination.

And they have been making progress. One way and another there has been a growing acceptance that some form of power-sharing — as opposed to racial domination white of black or black of white — could be brought about.

Some sort of federal plan, or confederal plan, is considered to be a way of attaining this, and several leading black politicians have been party to multiracial conferences discussing and promoting this sort of thinking.

One of the carrots that the opposition spokesmen have used to attract white interest in the concept of power sharing has been that, if it was worked out fairly, then there would be acceptance of South Africa by the West again — to the country's great relief.

It seemed that Mr. Mondale realized all this when, before his meeting with Mr. Vorster in

Vienna, he carefully modulated his proposals for the South African Government to involve "full participation" by all races (something for which there is already fairly widespread support in South Africa) as opposed to one man, one vote.

South African politicians and commentators saw this as an understanding of the present white South African dilemma: the growing realization of the growing need to share power, on the one side, and the fear of domination, on the other.

But when at the end of the talks Mr. Mondale said that "full participation" was just the same thing as "one man, one vote," in South African terms he was simply telling the whites they had to abdicate.

Mr. Vorster and the South African Foreign Minister, P. W. Botha, are now using this to justify the government's stand at Vienna and also to ridicule opposition parties' claims that their power-sharing policies would win Western support.

In a parliamentary debate Mr. Vorster drew opposition criticism of his conduct of the Vienna talks, and allegations by Colin Eglin, the leader of the Progressive Reform Party,

that the South African Government's policy is "unsalable" overseas. He countered by saying that Mr. Mondale's remark meant that all the opposition parties' policies would be equally "unsalable" and unacceptable to the West, because America wanted nothing less than one man, one vote.

However, the ferment in South Africa as a result of the Vienna talks and the visit by Ambassador Young, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, is clearly not over.

Several opposition members of Parliament, for example, are now describing as a "water-shed" recent suggestions by two Cabinet ministers that some sort of Swiss-style confederation might be worked out to share political power in South Africa; even though the suggestion has — apparently for tactical reasons — been given a fairly cool reception by Mr. Vorster.

And Mr. Vorster himself would clearly like to continue some sort of dialogue with the United States — and the friendlier the better — on this side of what he sees as "the abdication of the white man."

Mr. Tyler is an editorial writer for the South African newspaper Cape Argus.

COMMENTARY

The Irish election: a view from the North

By AN McCreary

Belfast
To the Ulster observer, the Republic's general election has an important bearing on the security of the North. But because security is a subsidiary issue in the campaign, he sees the campaigning through a mist of claims and counterclaims about inflation and unemployment, and as the Republic's two main groups in the South grapple with the country's considerable economic problems.

When the country's two million voters, including 40,000 young people voting for the first time, go the ballot box on June 18 the cost of economic survival in the Republic is expected to outweigh even the concern about Northern Ireland and the joint British-Irish attempts to deal with terrorism. Since the last election in 1973 the cost of living has soared, 18 percent of the work force is unemployed, and inflation is averaging at some 15 percent.

The main party leaders have underlined the electorate's concern with the cost of living. Dr. Jack Lynch, leader of the Fianna Fail

Party which held power for the 16 years before 1973, has been touring the Republic with a £250 million blueprint which he claims will solve the country's economic problems.

If elected, his party pledges to abolish rates on private dwellings and the road tax on certain types of cars, to increase personal taxation allowances and to reduce the amount the lower paid contribute to social welfare.

The coalition of Mr. Liam Cosgrave's Fianna Gael and Mr. Brendan Corish's Irish Labour Party, proposes an economic plan which includes a further reduction in the rates on private dwellings and a commitment to establish a National Development Corporation with direct responsibility for creating jobs and developing industry.

The coalition stresses its past record when in government and points to, among other things, an improved power system, higher children's allowances, 100,000 new houses, and even the removal of the Irish language as a compulsory school examination subject and a

necessary qualification for a job in Ireland.

In the early part of the campaign both main parties refrained from making Northern Ireland an issue, partly because of the danger of rubbing salt into Northern wounds and partly because unrest in the North makes poor publicity for an island hoping to attract some tourists and investors.

There was, however, a brief but bitter political skirmish between Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, the Coalition Minister for Posts and Telegraphs and Mr. Charles Haughey, the Opposition spokesman on health. Dr. O'Brien claimed that politically Mr. Haughey was "a dangerous force with a lot of mystery surrounding him" with regard to Northern Ireland. In a personal statement Mr. Haughey retorted that the Minister's comments were "unfounded allegations" and had been used by Dr. O'Brien in his 1973 campaign.

Such infighting is reminiscent of what goes on in Northern Ireland politics, but in this campaign such an exchange has been the exception

rather than the rule — so much so that the prestigious London Financial Times ran the headline "London yawns as campaign gets bogged down."

Whatever the intricacies of the economic arguments down South, many Northerners looking at security feel that Mr. Cosgrave's party rather more determined to stamp out terrorism than that of Mr. Lynch's. Mr. Lynch's first reaction to the 1969 crisis included stationing field-ambulances on the border and a oblique warning that his government would not stand idly by as the conflagration raged in the North. His attitude has been neither forgotten nor forgiven by the majority of Northern Unionists.

Almost certainly it is the cost of living in the Republic that will determine the outcome of this election, but whichever main party controls the 21st Irish Dail after June 18, it is the cost of living in Ulster that will continue to color Northern attitudes to the South.

Mr. McCreary is an editorial writer for the Belfast Telegraph.

Joseph C. Harsch

Ambassador Young's indiscretions

It is now customary to refer to America's UN Ambassador, Andrew Young, either with approving noises or stern disapproval, although President Carter has declined to repudiate any specific thing he has said.

I have been prompted by the above to look over the public record of things he has said. I find that he has stepped on sensitive toes and violated taboos of the times. But I also find that what he has said is either true or reflects a point of view justified by some facts.

Mr. Young has called the Russians "the worst racists in the world." The use of "worst" is controversial. There are plenty of racists and it would be difficult to measure degrees of racism. I am not at all sure that the Russians are the "worst." But that they do not go along easily with persons of other ethnic or racial groups is a well-known phenomenon. It is also a major reason why the Russians make such poor imperialists. Black students who have been to Moscow's Lomonosov University come away usually with anything but happy memories of their treatment in the capital of supposed communist fraternalism. Chinese and Egyptians who once welcomed Russians to their midst — ended up throwing them out.

Mr. Young has said that the Swedes are "terribly racist." Again, the adjective is open to question. But the Swedes are not famous for welcoming into their homes persons of different race and color. Danes and Norwegians, being more inclined to roam the world, are tolerant of strangers of various hues and colors. Swedes tend to cling to each other. Sweden does not have many non-Scandinavians within its borders.

Mr. Young says the Swedes treat blacks as badly as they are treated in the New York Borough of Queens. Well — comparisons are difficult. No one to my knowledge has made a detailed study of the matter which would justify a scientific conclusion. But it is a fact attested by scores of violent episodes in the recent history of Queens that the movement of blacks into Queens has resulted in racial friction along the fringes of black advance. They are not made welcome in Queens any more than they are in sections of any large American city where they are reaching for more space into areas inhabited by earlier economic communities of Irish, Jews, Italians, Poles, etc.

Mr. Young thinks that Britain's "old colonial mentality" is still strong. I presume he means the British habit, resulting from having long ruled a vast colonial empire, of thinking that

there resides in the British nature a unique and superior ability to think for other peoples. It would be a hard proposition to prove one way or the other, but having myself resided among the British for some 10 years of my life I feel that Mr. Young again has a point. Many of my British friends do seem to think that they could run American affairs better than Americans.

Mr. Young's most startling remark, made back in February, was that Cuban soldiers in Angola had contributed an element of stability to that country. He has since said much the same thing about Cuban soldiers now reported in Ethiopia. Offhand it would seem to be outrageous for an American ambassador to sound as though he were condoning an act of Soviet imperialism carried out with Cuban troops.

But if there were no Cuban troops in Angola there might be a three-cornered civil war still going on in Angola among the three major tribal groupings of that country. So long as that civil war continued there could be no resumption of business or trade. It is a fact that when Cuban troops ended the fighting in Angola the Gulf Oil Co. resumed the flow of oil from Angola to the Western world.

Cubans are now reported in Ethiopia. Mr. Young says they may stop the killing there.

Australia joins battle with inflation

By Deak Warner

Melbourne
A week or two Australians thought they could see the light at the end of the economic tunnel.

Consumer price index for the March quarter fell three percent, and the federal and state governments agreed to support a voluntary three-month wage-price freeze.

Everyone knew that this type of freeze had not without spectacular success elsewhere. But adopting a common purpose was an achievement in itself. If everyone agreed to freeze wages, the real villain, surely there was a chance of bringing it under control. Then, within a couple of weeks, two small minority groups came along and destroyed not only the wage-price freeze but any hope of controlling inflation in the foreseeable future.

A few hundred gasoline tanker drivers, demanding an extra \$8 a week, cut off oil to all gas stations in the state of Victoria, and the government's transport to a standstill. When the tanker drivers went back to work, the air traffic controllers, numbering only about a thousand, grounded all domestic

and international flights. For a week no planes flew to or from Australia. Internal travelers had to use bus, or train, or car — or to postpone their trips. Far from supporting the wage-price freeze, the controllers wanted a 36 percent increase in salary.

Thousands of passengers found themselves stranded overseas with no money for accommodation, or even in some cases, for food.

Finally, just before the day the federal government had planned to intervene to break the strikes — an act that might have precipitated a general strike — common sense prevailed. The case has now gone to the Arbitration Commission, but not before damaging the economy and destroying the hope of wage restraint.

The Fraser Government is now in the last half of its three-year term of office. Eighteen months have passed since it was so triumphantly endorsed to office by voters who placed great trust in its capacity to restore economic stability. But the government appears to have achieved little perceptible headway in controlling inflation and reviving business confidence.

With the budget due in August, the government must not only continue the struggle against inflation but must stimulate economic development and reduce unemployment.

The labor market is dull and listless and especially bleak in the key industrial state of New South Wales, where 6.7 percent of the work force is registered as unemployed.

Government policy is based on the view that any permanent improvement in the labor market depends on restoring profitability to industry and on a new willingness on the part of business to invest in productive enterprises.

Policymakers have taken a consistently hard line against government spending. With time running out, it could now be tempted to boost the economy by abandoning some of its own restraints.

Judging by the experience of the previous government, however, expansion of the public sector without rigid adherence to wage restraint would do little to reduce unemployment. It would inevitably increase inflation.

More Australian economists suggest tax cuts as a means of putting more money into the pockets of the people and an encouraging them back into the shops. The idea attracts the government — but not for the moment. It would increase the budget deficit, it says.

The labor unions, or at least the more responsible leaders, would accept tax cuts to compensate for agreeing to restrain wage demands.

An important section of the business community also favors this approach. "Tax cuts would offer the probable longer-term benefit of providing a bigger tax base, stemming from greater numbers in work and bigger company profits and, possibly, would reduce wage pressures," says the influential Bank of New South Wales Review.

The government's dilemma as it approaches the end of its three-year term is that it must provide voters with some hope for better things to come. Tax cuts may not be the panacea for the country's economic ills. But they would not lose many friends.

Mr. Warner is a veteran analyst of the Australian scene.